HARD TIMES IN SHARPSBURG ★ IN PRAISE OF WINFIELD SCOTT ★

CIVIL WAR TIMES

Kate Cumming, Confederate war nurse

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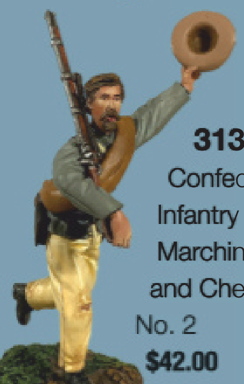

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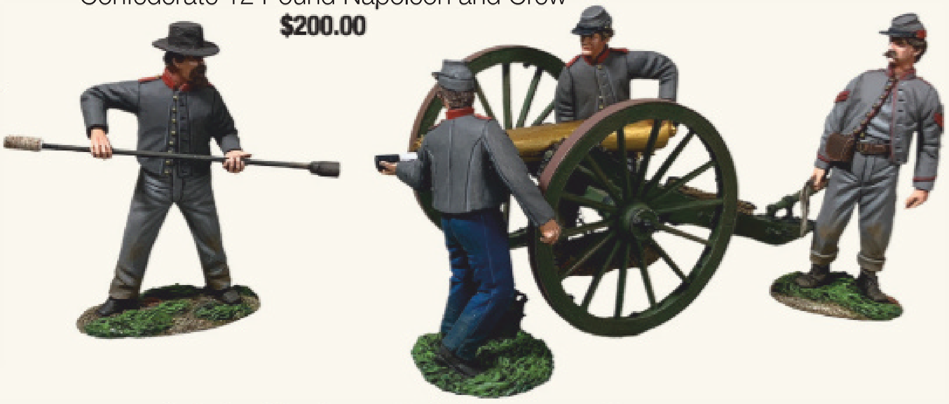

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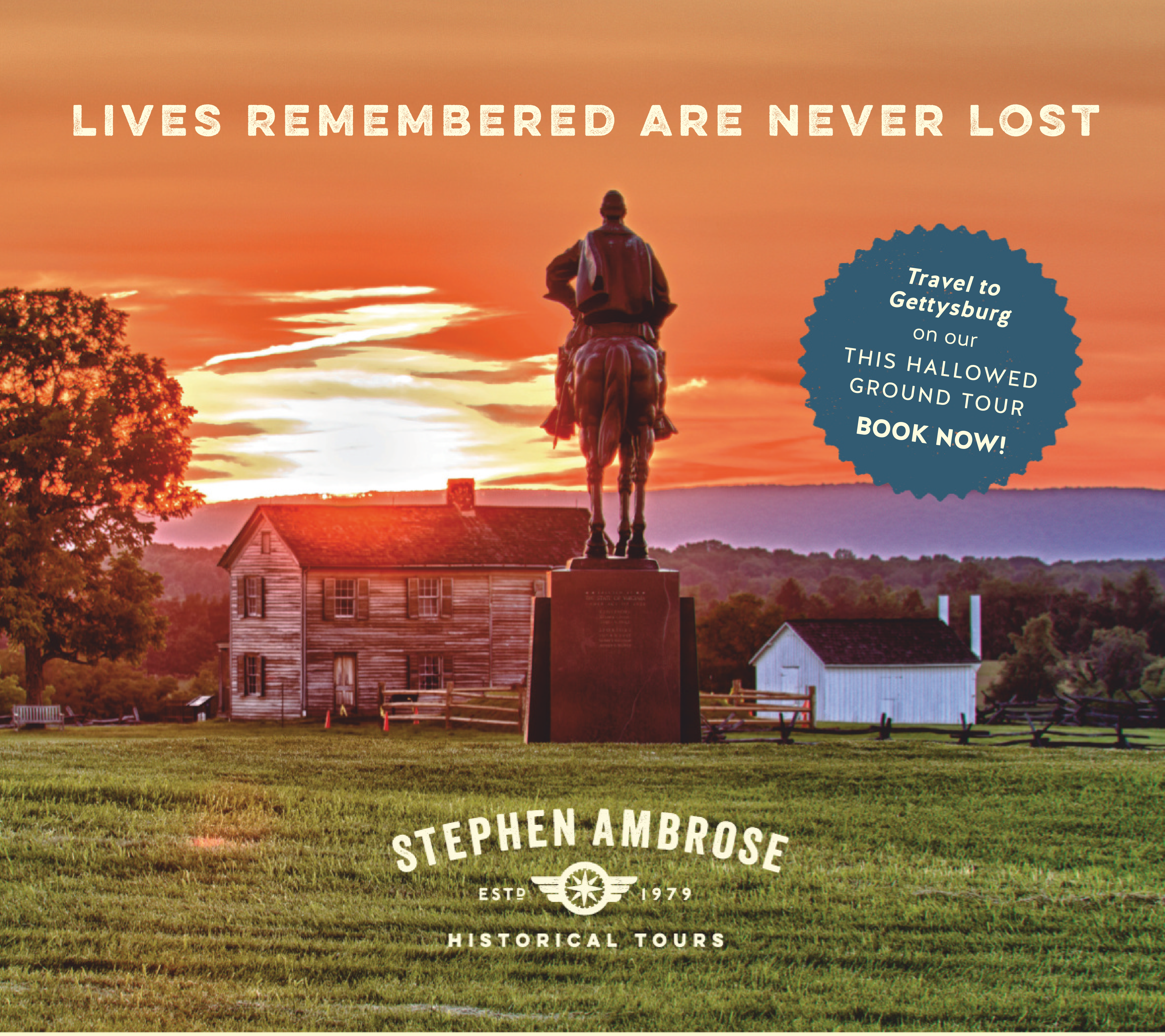
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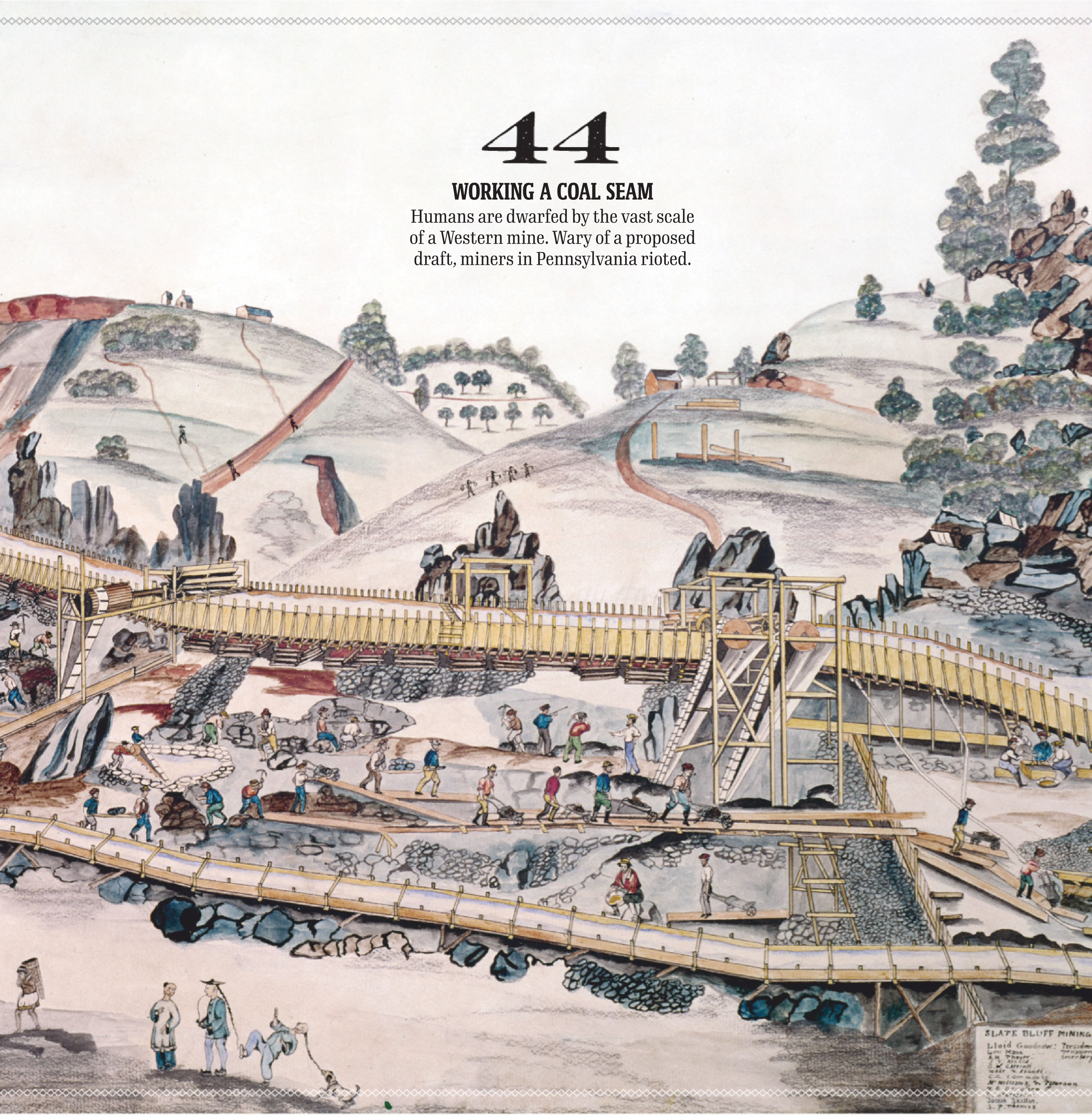
CIVIL WAR TIMES
WINTER 2023


SLATE BLUFF MINING
Lloid Goodnow:

44

WORKING A COAL SEAM

Humans are dwarfed by the vast scale of a Western mine. Wary of a proposed draft, miners in Pennsylvania rioted.

ON THE COVER: Kate Cumming traveled from Alabama to Corinth, Miss., to nurse Confederate wounded.

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The Battles of Shiloh and Corinth brought the shock of war to Americans in the Western Theater.

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During the postwar years, Federal troops once again established outposts in the "Granary of the Confederacy."

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A small Pennsylvania township was home to one of the North's first anti-draft riots.

50 **The Controversial Draft**
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Were the Lincoln administration's draft policies fair and equitable?

52 **'Had I Been a Man'**
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CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: SUPERSTOCK/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS (2); COURTESY OF JOHN P. DEEBEN; COVER: NPS PHOTO; *HARPER'S WEEKLY*/PHOTO ILLUSTRATION: BRIAN WALKER

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TRENDING NOW
Terrified in a Place of Refuge
African American refugees sheltering at Harpers Ferry faced an uncertain future when the town fell to Stonewall's Confederates in September 1862.
By Alexander B. Rossino
historynet.com/hf-contrabands

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CIVIL WAR TIMES

WINTER 2023 / VOL. 62, NO. 1

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Toss-up between Winslow Homer and Julian Scott

Homer, particularly "Veteran in a New Field"

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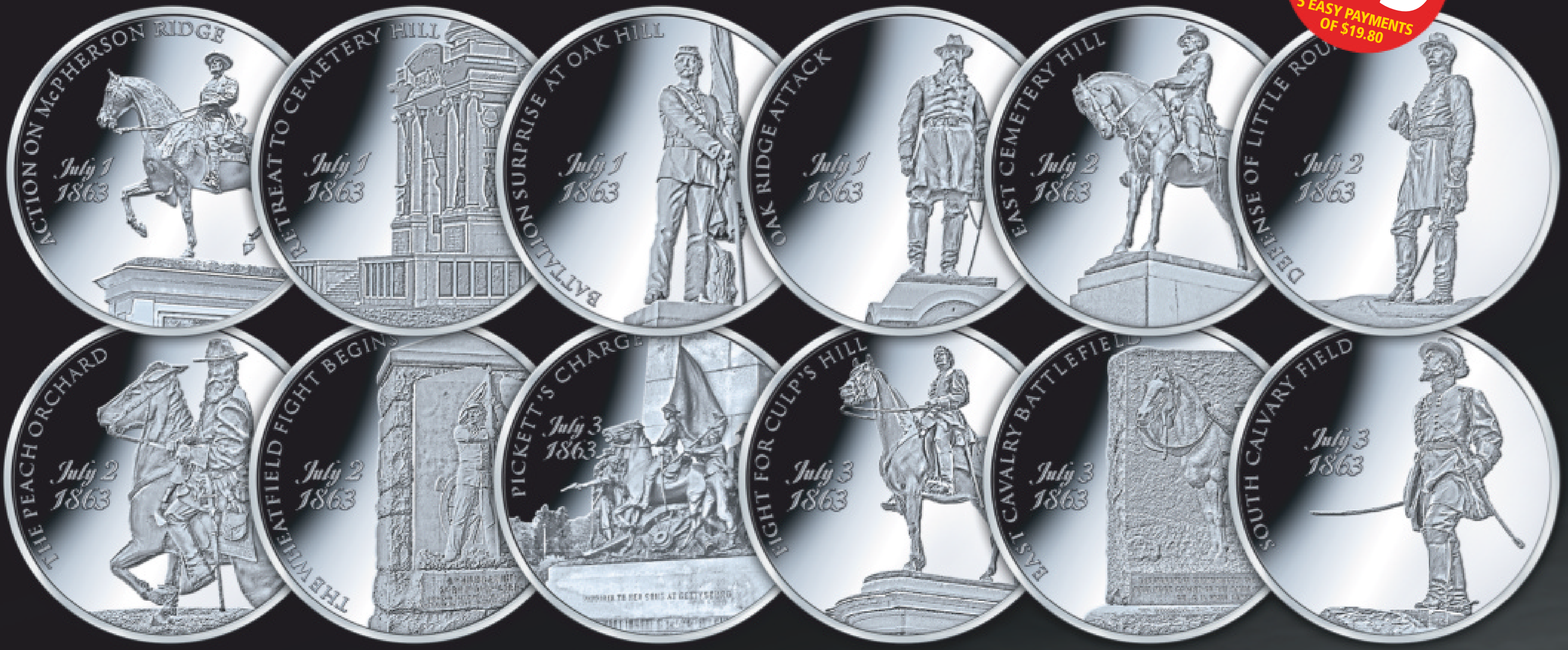
ACTION ON McPHERSON RIDGE
July 1 1863
RETREAT TO CEMETERY HILL
July 1 1863
BATTALION SURPRISE AT OAK HILL
July 1 1863
OAK RIDGE ATTACK
July 1 1863
EAST CEMETERY HILL
July 2 1863
DEFENSE OF LITTLE ROU
July 2 1863
THE PEACH ORCHARD
July 2 1863
THE WHEATFIELD FIGHT BEGINS
July 2 1863
PICKETT'S CHARGE
July 3 1863
FIGHT FOR CULP'S HILL
July 3 1863
EAST CAVALRY BATTLEFIELD
July 3 1863
SOUTH CAVALRY FIELD
July 3 1863

A BRILLIANT TRIBUTE TO THE GREATEST BATTLE EVER FOUGHT ON AMERICAN SOIL

It was already hot at 8:00 in the morning on July 1, 1863, when two Confederate brigades, under the command of General Henry Heth, marched wearily North into the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in search of food and badly needed supplies. Two Union cavalry brigades commanded by General John Buford were already ensconced in the small village. The skirmish that ensued lasted little more than an hour, but as reinforcements from both armies poured into the surrounding countryside, the stage was set for the largest, fiercest battle of the American Civil War.

Over the next three days, more than 170,000 Americans fought face-to-face for every inch of high ground. By the end of the battle on July 4, 1863, the bodies of over 51,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were strewn over the landscape. Each side had suffered terrible losses, but it was the Union army under the command of General George G. Meade that triumphed. The Confederate army, led by General Robert E. Lee, never fully recovered from the defeat at Gettysburg. Three of the bloodiest days in American history had turned the tide of the entire war.

THE BATTLE of GETTYSBURG
July 1-3 1863
THREE DESPERATE DAYS

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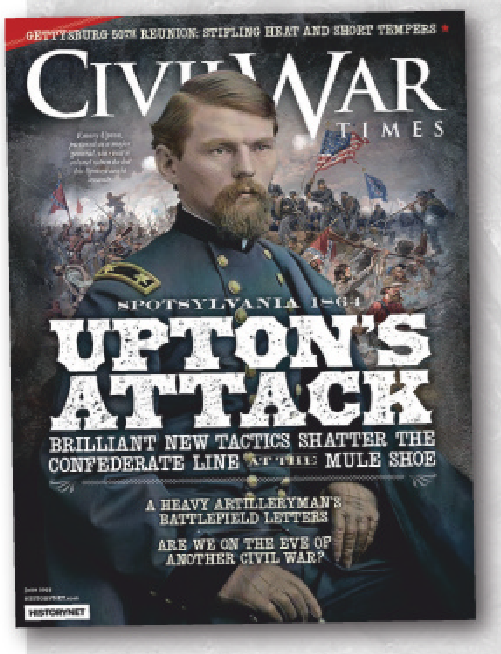
GETTYSBURG 50TH REUNION: STIFLING HEAT AND SHORT TEMPERS
CIVIL WAR TIMES
SPOTSYLVANIA 1864
UPTON'S ATTACK
BRILLIANT NEW TACTICS SHATTER THE CONFEDERATE LINE AT THE MULE SHOE
A HEAVY ARTILLERYMAN'S BATTLEFIELD LETTERS
ARE WE ON THE EVE OF ANOTHER CIVIL WAR?
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A DEFINITIVE LIST

***Editor's Note:** In the last issue, Senior Editor Chris Howland put a table together addressing what units were in Emory Upton's May 10, 1864, Spotsylvania attack, and who led those regiments. Author David Ward has weighed in below with his research on the subject.*

This is a response to the table "Upton's Attackers" which accompanied Jeffry Wert's June 2022 article on Upton's attack. In addition I'm adding to the response sent to *CWT* by Randy Livingston in the Autumn 2022 issue and Chris Howland's research.

In regard to the table of "Attackers," the 95th Pennsylvania should be removed and replaced with the 5th Wisconsin.

I've put together a table of units/commanders—as near as I can determine—who led each regiment on May 10. Each entry on the table also has a corresponding footnote citing the documentation I consulted to compile the data.

The research used to support the creation of the table reflects decades of work regarding Colonel Upton's assault. Some of this material was cited in my 2018 book dealing with the attack—*The Ninety-Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War.*

Hope my work adds to the discussion and resolves some of the outstanding issues.

David Ward
Mesa, Ariz.

Commanding Officers, Upton's Assault, May 10, 1864

5th Maine	Col. Clark Edwards[1]
96th Pennsylvania	Maj. William H. Lessig[2]
121st New York	Maj. Henry Galpin[3]
49th Pennsylvania	Col. Thomas Hulings[4]
6th Maine	Maj. George Fuller[5]
5th Wisconsin	Maj. Enoch Totten[6]
43rd New York	Capt. James D. Visscher[7]
77th New York	Maj. Nathan S. Babcock[8]
119th Pennsylvania	Maj. Henry Truefitt[9]
2nd Vermont	Lt. Col. Samuel E. Pingree[10]
5th Vermont	Maj. Charles P. Dudley[11]
6th Vermont	Lt. Col. Oscar A. Hale[12]

---

[1] Portland, Maine *Transcript* June 25, 1864.
[2] Bates, *History of Penna. Vols.*, v.3, p.390.
[3] Herkimer, New York *Journal & Courier*, June 2, 1864.
[4] Lewistown, Penna. *Gazette* May 25, 1864.
[5] Mundy, *No Rich Men's Sons*, p.293.
[6] Wisconsin *State Journal* May 19, 1864 Col. Allen on leave in Washington.
[7] 43rd New York file. New York Division of Military and Naval Affairs. "[O]n the death of Col. Wilson, [Visscher] became commander of the regiment."
[8] *Saratogian* May 19, 1864: "went into the fight under the lead of Maj. Babcock."
[9] Bates, *History of Penna. Vols.*, v.4, p.4.
[10] Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, v.1, p.114-116. See also Pingree's letter "Next morning before day I was ordered to take command of the 2nd Vt. Regt." "Civil War Letters …" ed. by Kelly Nolin, *Vermont History* (Spring 1995), p.86.
[11] *Ibid.*, p.198-199.
[12] *Ibid.*, p.226.

TIMID TAYLOR?

In the Miscellany section of the Autumn 2022 issue, you state that Walter Taylor was "in the room when his commander surrendered to Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant". Taylor was not in the room; he wimped out, claiming that he couldn't bear the humiliation, thus leaving his beloved commander to bear that humiliation alone. It was Charles Marshall who accompanied Lee to meet with General Grant in Wilmer McLean's parlor.

Janet McCabe
Crofton, Md.

HARD TACK AND COFFEE

HEAT AND HUMIDITY

Just wanted to compliment Jeffrey Harding and his associates on their research for his excellent article "Death By Dew Point" from the Autumn 2022 issue. While exact conditions can never be known for sure, Harding's data and models demonstrate that the suffering of the troops cannot be overstated. Anyone who has ever experienced such extremes of heat will realize that the sun can be every bit as murderous as a bullet.

Vince Ingle
Maryville, Tenn.

A very interesting read on Civil War meteorological data. Context is always a wonderful addition. It's not hard to imagine what the warring soldiers felt when one visits Civil War battlefields at the relative same time of year the battle was fought. Weather conditions were always a factor and were alluded to in after-action and news reports of the day. So, if one visits one of these sites and the weather conditions were similar, we can appreciate better what these men had to endure. We should then add the clothes they wore and the gear they carried and it seems overwhelming.

The science applied to these times gives us a much better understanding that yes, it was summer and if one resides in this area of the country we know by our own experience the humidity is most always elevated. This is especially true during the months of July through September. While the numbers are very interesting, are the recorded temperatures of the time unusual? Certainly not and what about the humidity? Again no, because the Bermuda highs and the general summer weather patterns have changed little since then contrary to many opinions.

Anyone can watch a July D.C. or Harrisburg weather report and they would see the regional temperatures and humidity are much the same then as they are now. So, to draw the conclusions about the weather at the time being a short distance from the recorded sources is far more than plausible in my view.

Rick Huff
Sykesville, Md.

FIRST MONDAYS

Thanks to everyone who tunes in to our First Mondays broadcasts. In August, along the banks of Antietam Creek, we met up with Oklahoma State University history professor Jennifer Murray to discuss a council of war held by Maj. Gen. George Meade following the Battle of Gettysburg.

I always enjoy learning of sites that are "off the beaten path." Thanks. —*Tom Shay*

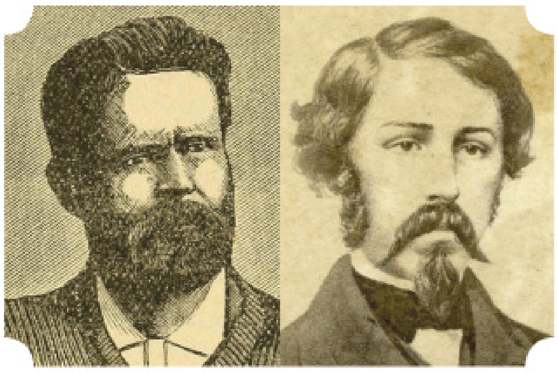
I, too, love visiting those out of the way "they were there" kind of places. Jen Murray's down to earth style and knowledge leaves me in awe. —*Jim Chrismer*

For every "level of exhaustion" and fatigue for the Army of the Potomac, multiply that by two or three to get to the comparable levels for the Army of Northern Virginia. Same with supplies. —*Gene Seiler*

QUANTRILL'S FACE

I found the collection of previously unpublished Civil War letters in the Autumn 2022 "War in Their Words" issue fascinating. I was, however, wondering where you obtained the illustration of Confederate guerrilla chieftain William Quantrill that accompanied the letter about the Lawrence Massacre. The heavily bearded man depicted there bore no resemblance to the documented published photos I have seen of Quantrill. Even the version of the best-known photo of the guerrilla has been doctored to affix a mustache to a clean-shaven image.

Ricky Earl Newport
Carrollton, Mo.



BANK AND TRAIN ROBBERS OF THE WEST; WILSON'S CREEK NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD

Editor's note: *The illustration of bearded William Quantrill we used (left) comes from the 1889 book* Bank and Train Robbers of the West.

FEELING BLUE

As usual, I grabbed my new copy of *Civil War Times* and started reading with abandon. While excellent writing and subjects, all of this left me feeling, perhaps, just a little bit Blue, so to speak. Not one article on anything Southern. Apparently, *Civil War Times* has decided to report only one side of the War Between the States. I would imagine approximately 50 percent of your readers felt a bit ignored, as did I.

Tim A. Williams
Orlando, Fla.

Editor's note: *We've got some good "Southern themed" articles in the works.*

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ATTENTION 4TH TEXAS!
Officers deliver orders to the more than 260 members of the Liberty Rifles and partner organizations during a public demonstration for the Battle of Sharpsburg's 160th.

REEL FARM REBEL YELLS

On September 17, 2022, the 160th anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, the Rebel Yell and thundering artillery once again rent the air as the Liberty Rifles and the 1st Section reenactment units re-created the 4th Texas Infantry and Virginia's Bedford Light Artillery for public demonstrations.

The Reel Farm is located southwest of the main park entrance, on the west side of the modern road leading to Hagerstown, Md. The expansive farm was a Confederate staging area and the barn served as a hospital. Preserved by the Conservation Fund in 1988, the property was later transferred to the American Battlefield Trust, which provided special access to the farm and hosted the large-scale living history event.

Roughly 260 living historians portrayed the 4th Texas, slightly more men than were in the actual regiment at Antietam. The Liberty Rifles were up before dawn to re-create the 4th Texas' advance from behind the Dunker Church, and then up the Hagerstown Turnpike.

The 1st Section used more than 30 horses in their impressive re-creation of the Bedford Light Artillery. That battery supported the Texans during the opening Confederate attacks on the Cornfield.

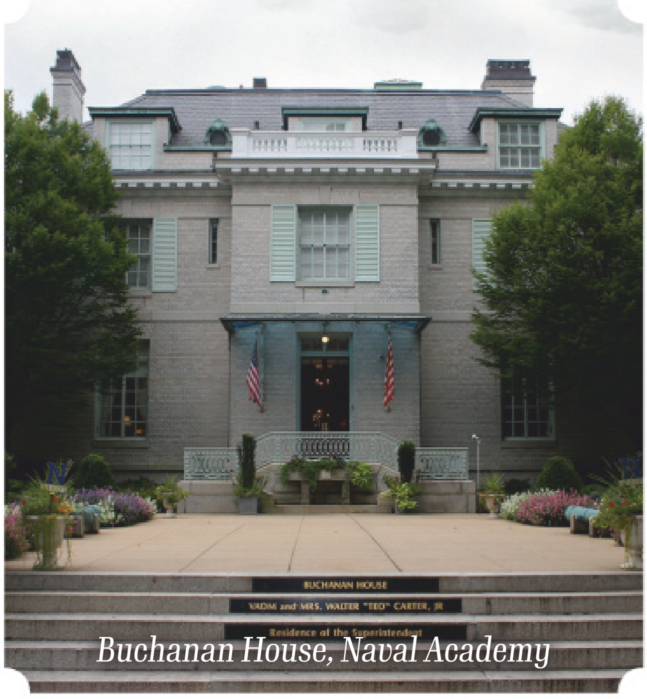
Wide Awake Films, Ltd., filmed all aspects of the living history. The video will be used by ABT in preservation efforts, and some footage may appear in the new film about the Battle of Antietam and its aftermath that will be shown in the refurbished visitor center when it reopens. *Civil War Times* was also there capturing some of the event, and you can check out our videos on our Facebook page.

READY TO HEAT THEM UP
Two members of the re-created Bedford Light Artillery pose with one of the battery's brass 6-pounder cannons. The battery also included an iron gun, all three pulled by well-trained horses. A rare sight.

PHOTOS BY MELISSA A. WINN (2)

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION authorized in 2020 to review Confederate commemoration and symbolism on Department of Defense holdings recently submitted two reports. Recommendations in an August report included removing the Lee name from a road, a barracks, and a gate at West Point, as well as renaming Naval Academy buildings named for Matthew Maury, who turned Confederate ship-procurer, and Franklin Buchanan, who became a Confederate admiral. Its final report, released in September, recommended removing the Confederate Memorial at Arlington National Cemetery; renaming Fort Belvoir, which had been named Fort Humphreys until it was renamed Fort Belvoir in 1935 after a slave plantation; renaming landing vessels named after Confederate leaders; and removing or reconfiguring design elements on unit badges or campaign streamers that reference Confederate flags, colors, symbols, mottoes, or nicknames such as Dixie. The final report included a tally of $62 million overall for renaming and removing remnants of Confederate commemoration related to Department of Defense "assets."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VADM and MRS. WALTER "TED" CARTER, JR
Residence of the Superintendent

Buchanan House, Naval Academy

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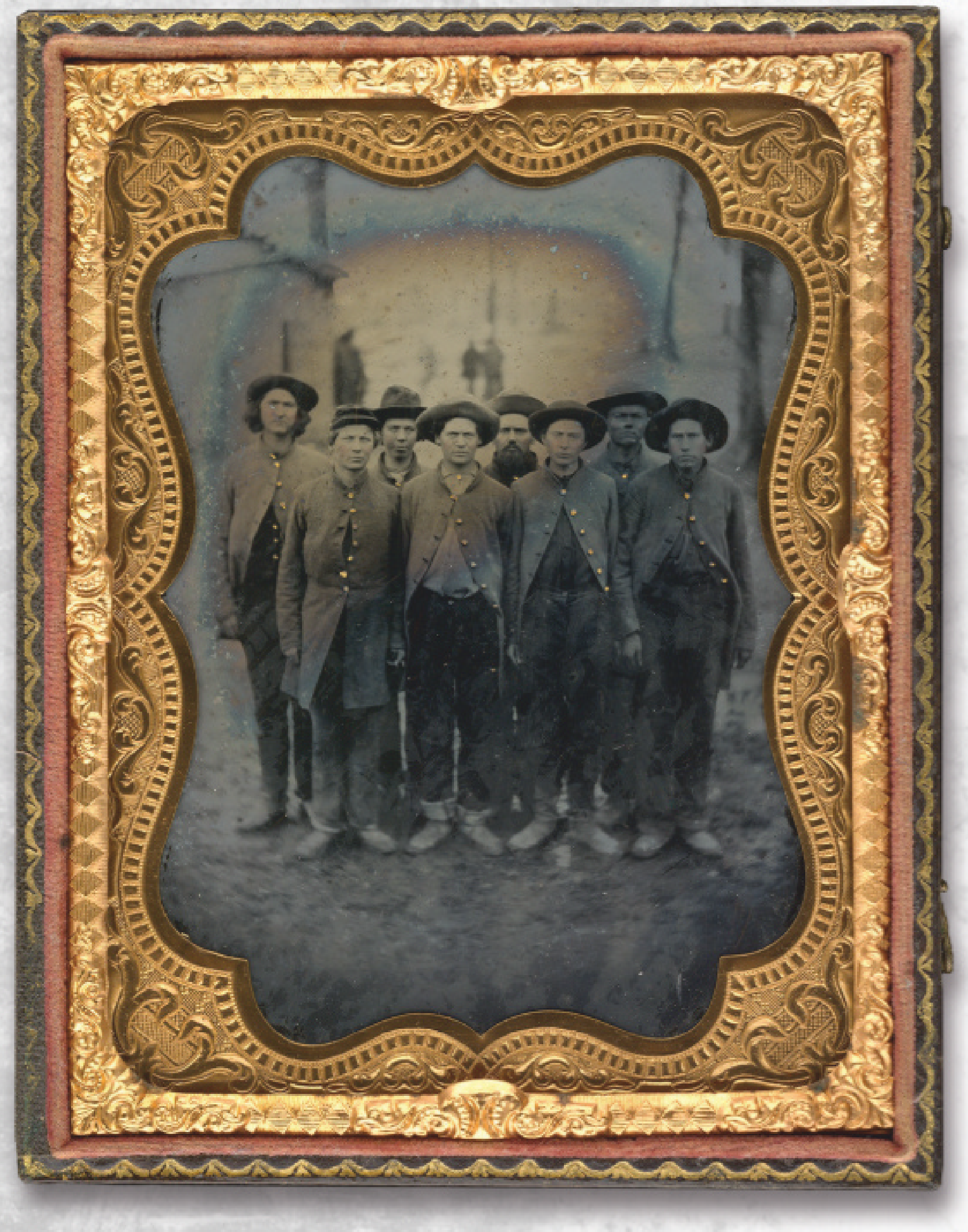


WAR FRAME

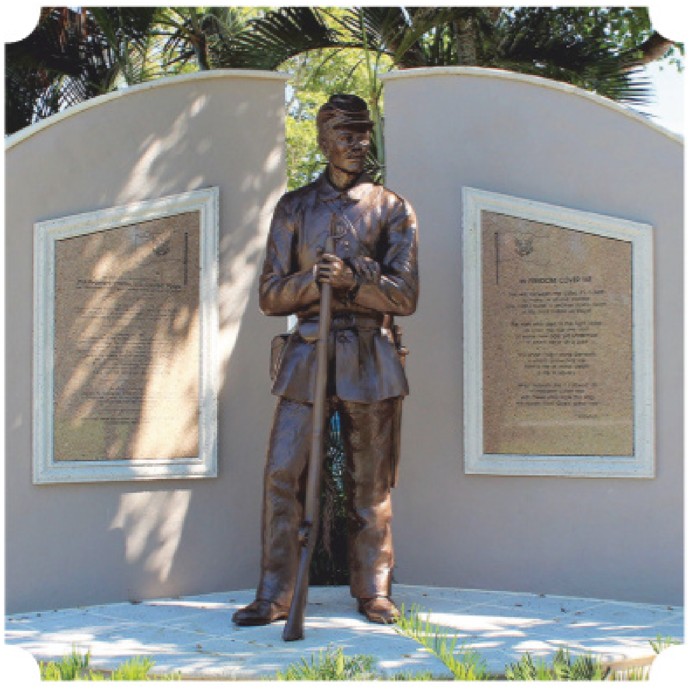
THE 20TH TENNESSEE INFANTRY was one of the Confederacy's stalwart Western Theater regiments, fighting from 1861 to 1865 from Shiloh to the Army of Tennessee's last fights during the Carolinas Campaign. The regiment had 880 men at its 1861 formation, but by the time the survivors surrendered on April 26, 1865, only a handful remained. This quarter-plate ambrotype was taken in 1863, and shows members of the 20th held at the Rock Island, Ill., prisoner-of-war camp. These lean Confederates were captured at the November 25, 1863, Battle of Missionary Ridge. A slip of paper kept in the back of the image identifies the man on the far left as Sergeant Joseph Kennedy Marshall.

ESCAPE FROM PORTSMOUTH

PORTSMOUTH, VA., a historic port located just west of Norfolk, Va., was long a destination of enslaved people hoping to escape by hiding on board ships headed north. On September 9, 2022, Civil War Trails, in collaboration with the African American Historical Society of Portsmouth and the Portsmouth Department of Museums and Tourism, installed a sign at the Portsmouth Emanuel A.M.E. Church, commemorating its role on the Underground Railroad. The sign also notes that escapees often slipped away aboard small vessels, which attracted less attention from slave patrols. For more information on sites in Portsmouth, go to *portsvacation.com/underground-railroad-tour*

AFRICAN M. E. CHURCH AND PARSONAGE.
EMANUEL A.M.E. CHURCH

FREEDOM STATION
A 19th-century engraving of the Portsmouth Emanuel A.M.E. church, and attendees at the dedication of the Civil War Trails sign at its location.

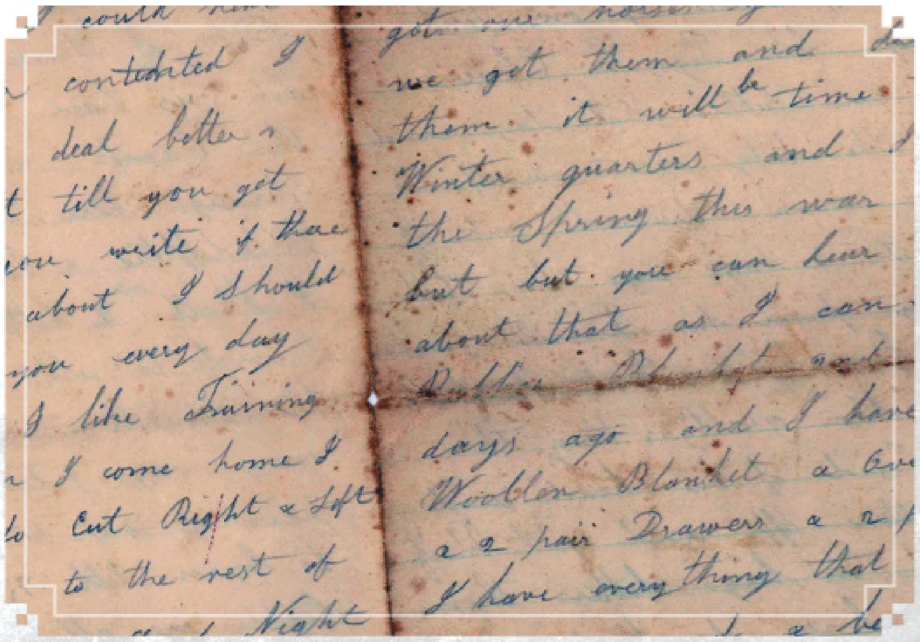


MONUMENT TURNAROUND

A MONUMENT TO USCT soldiers who guarded Florida's Fort Myers has been repositioned in the city's Centennial Park, following an appeal by community members. Installed in 1998, the 9-foot-tall statue represents men who not only guarded the fort and 4,000 cattle against a Confederate attack on February 20, 1865, but also helped some 1,000 enslaved people escape to freedom, some enlisting in the Union Army. Earlier this year, the statue had been moved to make space for an amphitheater, and the soldier was placed facing the river. On July 29, 2022, the figure was repositioned to face toward the park, in keeping with the original installation.

"DEAR WIFE"

WHEELWRIGHT FREDERICK WRIGHT SR. wrote 97 letters to his wife, Phoebe, while serving in the 2nd New York Cavalry, and those letters were donated to the Islip Historical Society in Islip, N.Y. Wright's letters, sent from 1862-1865, have survived over five generations. According to a CBS news report, the letters were so delicate they had to be kept in humid conditions to render them pliable enough to unfold without damage. While much of the content profiles mundane details of military life, some letters convey the ghastly horror of combat, with one passage commenting: "Dear wife...Tell the children I have seen men with their bodies cut up in all kinds of ways."



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FORT MYERS PARKS AND RECREATION; CIVIL WAR TRAILS INC.; *SKETCHBOOK OF PORTSMOUTH, VA, ITS PEOPLE AND ITS TRADES*; ISLIP HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESERVATION
REGISTER

Rare Flag Displayed
On July 3, 2022, visitors to the Portsmouth Historical Society in Rhode Island got a rare glimpse of a fragile U.S. flag bearing 33 stars, dating from the admission of Oregon on February 14, 1859. The banner was briefly on display while being aired out at the Portsmouth Historical Society in Rhode Island. At the onset of the Civil War, the United States consisted of 33 states, but the secession of states joining the Confederacy threw the number of U.S. states into question. President Lincoln, however, insisted that the states in rebellion remained part of the Union and retained 33 stars on the formal U.S. flag.

New Market Heights
In July 2022, Howard Eberly III, owner of Four Mile Creek Farm in Varina, in Virginia's Henrico County, donated 28 acres to the Capital Region Land Conservancy. Held in Eberly's family since 1909, the parcel is within the boundaries of the Richmond National Battlefield and lies at the heart of the Battle of New Market Heights; see Rambling (P. 18) for more on that battle.

Wyse Fork Threat
American Battlefield Trust is raising the alert that a huge highway interchange is proposed for construction through the Wyse Fork Battlefield. The battle outside Kinston, N.C., took place March 7-10, 1865, resulting in some 2,600 casualties. Maj. Gen. John Schofield's troops had approached from Wilmington to join up with Maj. Gen. Jacob Cox's troops coming from New Bern (also spelled New Berne). Soldiers led by General Braxton Bragg attempted to block Cox's troops, but failed after fierce fighting. To sign a petition against this location of the highway, go to *battlefields.org/protect-site-second-largest-battle-fought-north-carolina*

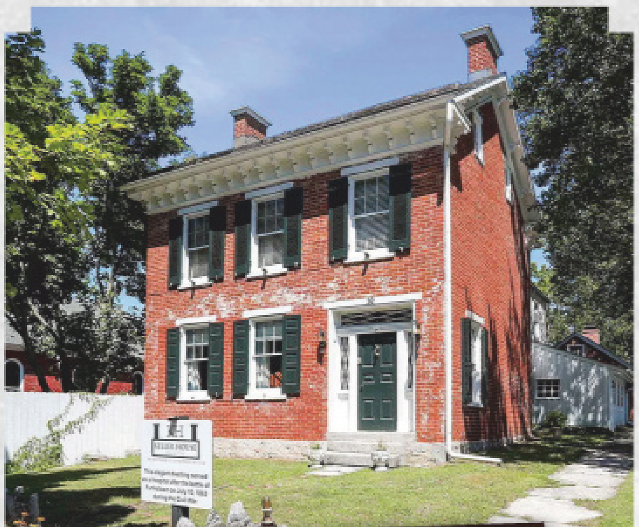
BUSY PLACE
Howard Eberly III donated critical battlefield land to preservation. His farm, one of the last undeveloped portions in Henrico, also witnessed the 1862 Battle of Glendale, and Deep Bottom and Chaffin's Farm in 1864.

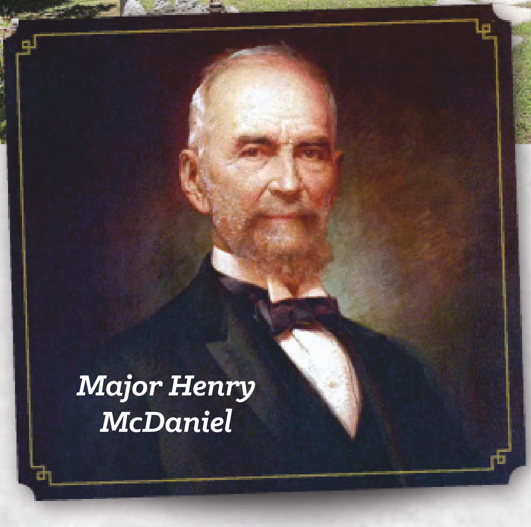
A Trio to Protect
The American Battlefield Trust is appealing to donors for $149,144 in order to receive matching donations that will permit it to purchase land worth $1,590,288. The deals involve Lookout Mountain in Tennessee; two parcels of 83 and 64 acres related to the Battle of Mill Springs in Kentucky, where on January 19, 1862, Federal troops won the first decisive victory for the Union in the Western Theater; and Fort DeRussy, Confederate earthworks built to defend the Red River Valley in Louisiana.

COURTESY OF THE PORTSMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY; ALEXA WELCH EDLUND/TIMES-DISPATCH

WORTH A MOVE

REAL ESTATE WITH CIVIL WAR CONNECTIONS




Major Henry McDaniel

Funkstown, Md., is a small town nestled into a bend of Antietam Creek, just slightly southeast of Hagerstown. Although interstates and modern development are nearby, the downtown still retains the small feel it had when it hosted the July 10, 1863, Battle of Funkstown during the Confederate retreat from Gettysburg.

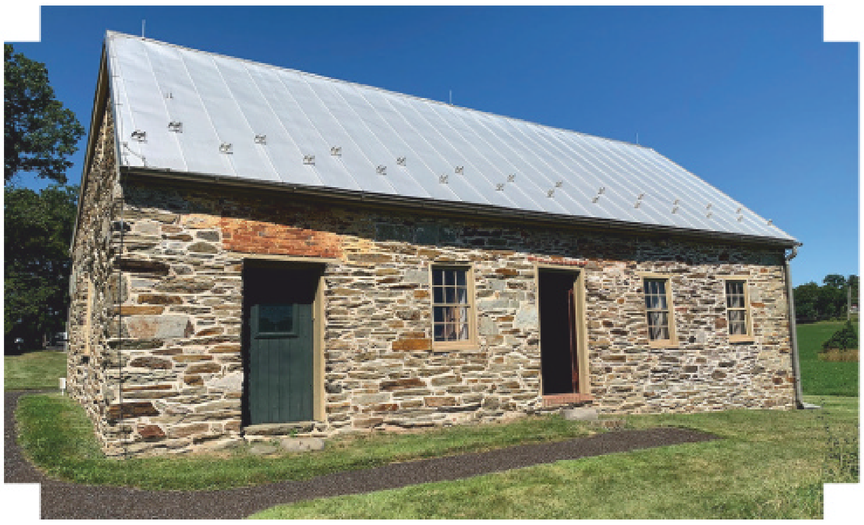
That mean little scrape initially pitted Brig. Gen. John Buford's troopers against J.E.B. Stuart's cavalrymen, but things heated up and a brigade of Vermont infantry was fed into the fray, only to be met by Brig. Gen. George Anderson's Georgia Brigade. Major Henry McDaniel of the 11th Georgia Infantry fell wounded, and was brought to this house, known as the Keller Home during the war.

When the fighting ended on July 10, the Confederate rear guard held. Major McDaniel was captured and hospitalized. He survived, however, and became a Governor of Georgia.

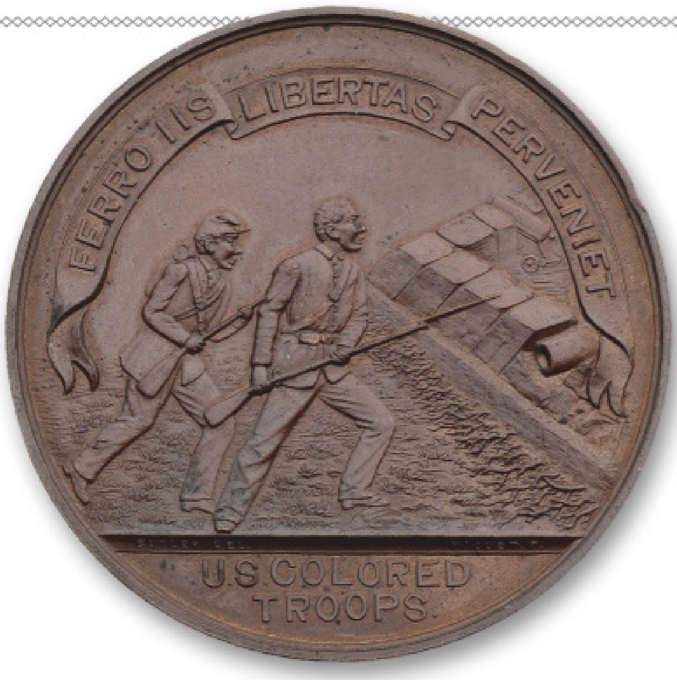
You, too, can recuperate after a long day of work in this circa 1800 house with more than 2,700 square feet located at 32 E. Baltimore Street, and offered at $550,000. The home sits on a corner lot, one of the largest parcels in Funkstown.

Read Kent Masterson Brown's *Retreat From Gettysburg* in the shaded backyard with mature trees, or after the weather turns cold, in front of one of the home's four fireplaces. Pubs, antique shops, and Antietam Creek are a short walk from the house, while Antietam National Battlefield is a short drive, and Gettysburg and Monocacy aren't far.

CLOSE UP! QUIZ



ON WHAT BATTLEFIELD would you find this handsome outbuilding? The first correct answer wins a *Civil War Times* water bottle. Send your answer to dshoaf@historynet.com, subject heading "Stone."



ANSWER TO LAST ISSUE'S CLOSE UP!

CONGRATULATIONS to Nate Evans, Mount Vernon, Ohio, who identified the U.S. Colored Troops medal Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler awarded to his Black troops for their heroism under his command at the 1864 Battles of Fort Harrison and Fort Gilmer, Va.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: KELLER WILLIAMS REALTY; COURTESY OF GEORGIA CAPITOL MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA LIBRARIES; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; PHOTO BY MELISSA A. WINN

SACRED STONE OF THE SOUTHWEST IS ON THE BRINK OF EXTINCTION

Centuries ago, Persians, Tibetans and Mayans considered turquoise a gemstone of the heavens, believing the striking blue stones were sacred pieces of sky. Today, the rarest and most valuable turquoise is found in the American Southwest— but the future of the blue beauty is unclear.

On a recent trip to Tucson, we spoke with fourth generation turquoise traders who explained that less than five percent of turquoise mined worldwide can be set into jewelry and only about twenty mines in the Southwest supply gem-quality turquoise. Once a thriving industry, many Southwest mines have run dry and are now closed.

We found a limited supply of turquoise from Arizona and purchased it for our ***Sedona Turquoise Collection***. Inspired by the work of those ancient craftsmen and designed to showcase the exceptional blue stone, each stabilized vibrant cabochon features a unique, one-of-a-kind matrix surrounded in Bali metalwork. You could drop over $1,200 on a turquoise pendant, or you could secure 26 carats of genuine Arizona turquoise for **just $99**.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. If you aren't completely happy with your purchase, send it back within 30 days for a complete refund of the item price.

The supply of Arizona turquoise is limited, don't miss your chance to own the Southwest's brilliant blue treasure. Call today!

Jewelry Specifications:

- ***Arizona turquoise*** • ***Silver-finished settings***

Sedona Turquoise Collection

A. Pendant (26 cts)	~~$299~~*	$99 +s&p ***Save $200***
B. 18" Bali Naga woven sterling silver chain		$149 +s&p
C. 1 ½" Earrings (10 ctw)	~~$299~~*	$99 +s&p ***Save $200***
Complete Set**	~~$747~~*	**$249** +s&p ***Save $498***

***Complete set includes pendant, chain and earrings.*

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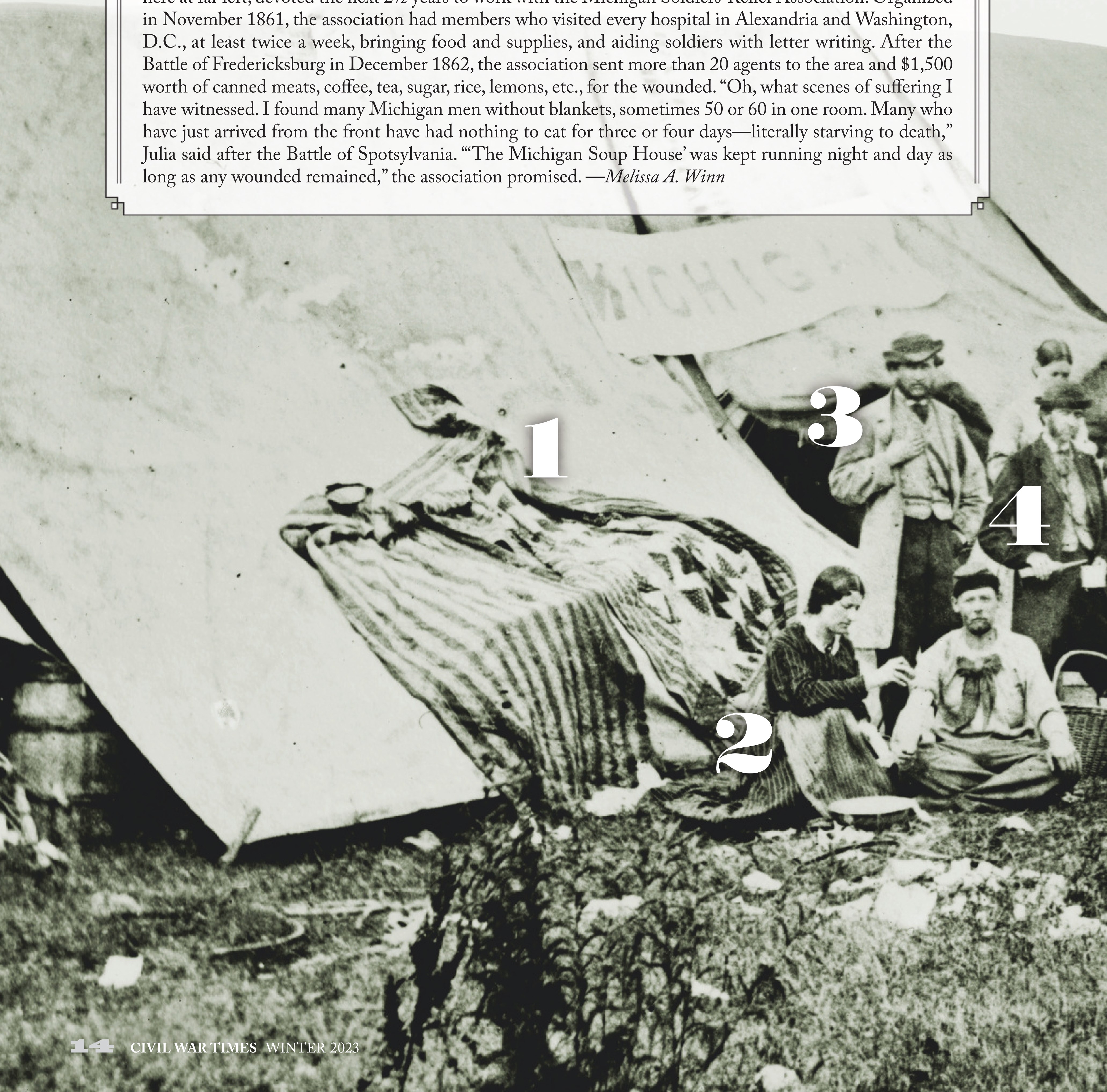
SOUL KITCHEN

ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1862, 29-year-old Michigan teacher Julia Wheelock received word that her brother Orville, of the 8th Michigan Infantry, had been wounded at the September 1 Battle of Chantilly and was in a hospital in Alexandria, Va. She raced to his bedside, only to find that he had died. Julia, pictured here at far left, devoted the next 2½ years to work with the Michigan Soldiers' Relief Association. Organized in November 1861, the association had members who visited every hospital in Alexandria and Washington, D.C., at least twice a week, bringing food and supplies, and aiding soldiers with letter writing. After the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862, the association sent more than 20 agents to the area and $1,500 worth of canned meats, coffee, tea, sugar, rice, lemons, etc., for the wounded. "Oh, what scenes of suffering I have witnessed. I found many Michigan men without blankets, sometimes 50 or 60 in one room. Many who have just arrived from the front have had nothing to eat for three or four days—literally starving to death," Julia said after the Battle of Spotsylvania. "'The Michigan Soup House' was kept running night and day as long as any wounded remained," the association promised. —*Melissa A. Winn*



1. An intricate quilt, with patriotic trim, offers the comforts of home to soldiers far from family. Here, the Michigan Soldiers' Relief Association is set up at White House Landing, Va., the site of a major Union Army supply base in 1862 during the Peninsula Campaign and again in 1864 during the Overland Campaign.

2. Julia Wheelock tends to a soldier's wounds. In a diary she kept and later published, Wheelock wrote that some days she worked for up to 12 hours, caring for the wounded and dying, after which she would return to her Alexandria boardinghouse and bake pies to take to the soldiers the next day. She was paid $5 a week, funded with donations by the people of Michigan.

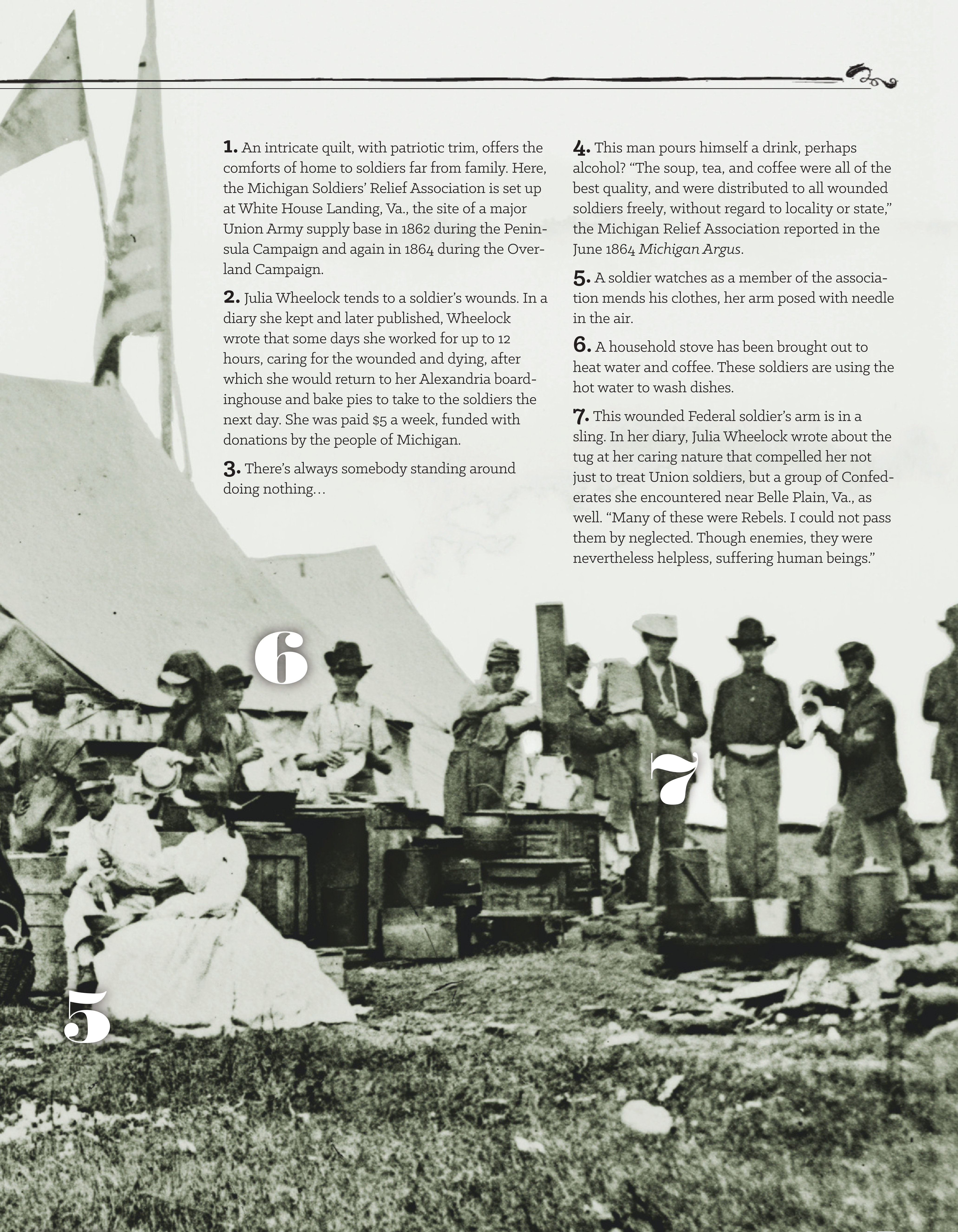
3. There's always somebody standing around doing nothing…

4. This man pours himself a drink, perhaps alcohol? "The soup, tea, and coffee were all of the best quality, and were distributed to all wounded soldiers freely, without regard to locality or state," the Michigan Relief Association reported in the June 1864 *Michigan Argus*.

5. A soldier watches as a member of the association mends his clothes, her arm posed with needle in the air.

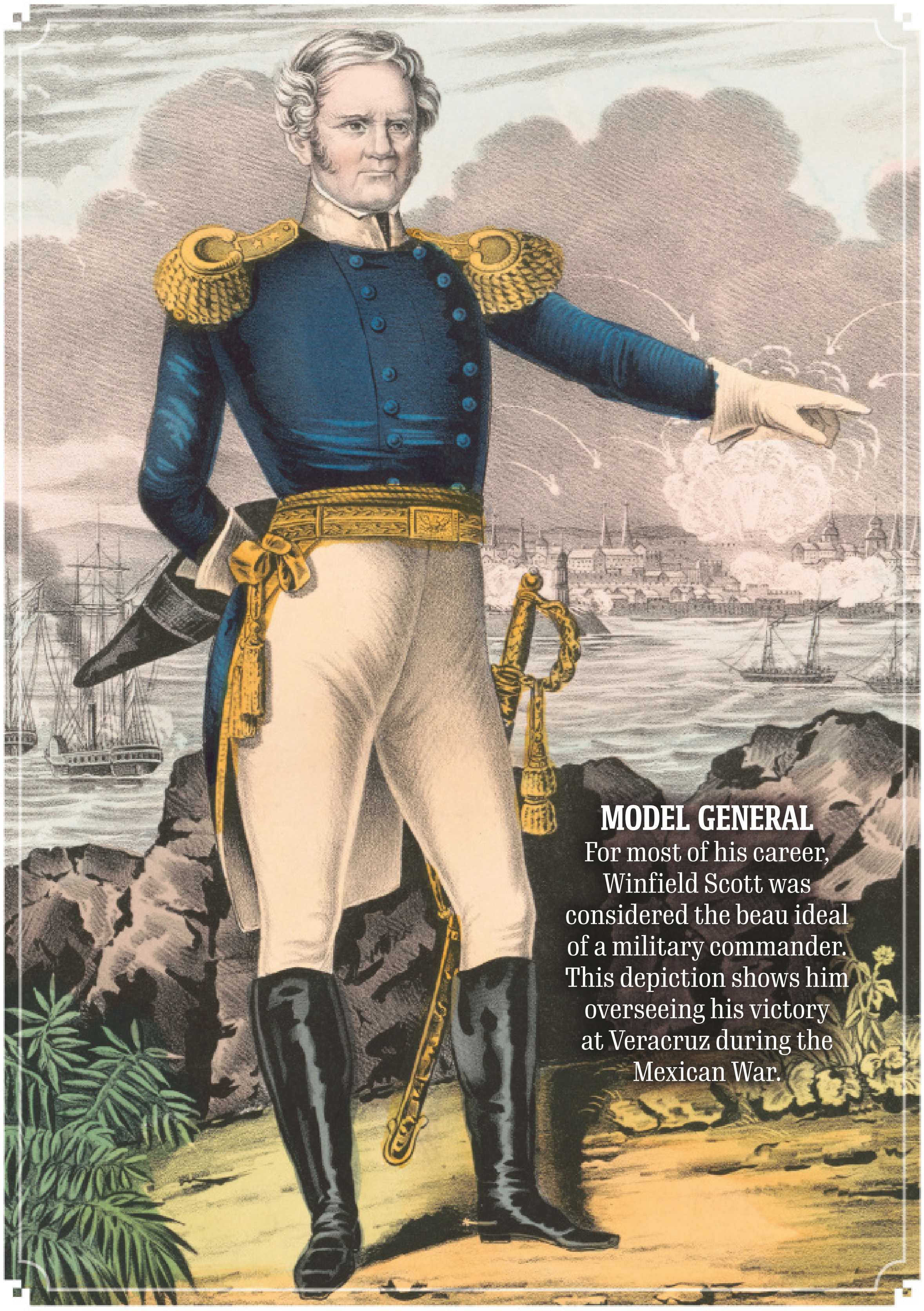
6. A household stove has been brought out to heat water and coffee. These soldiers are using the hot water to wash dishes.

7. This wounded Federal soldier's arm is in a sling. In her diary, Julia Wheelock wrote about the tug at her caring nature that compelled her not just to treat Union soldiers, but a group of Confederates she encountered near Belle Plain, Va., as well. "Many of these were Rebels. I could not pass them by neglected. Though enemies, they were nevertheless helpless, suffering human beings."



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

by Gary W. Gallagher



MODEL GENERAL
For most of his career, Winfield Scott was considered the beau ideal of a military commander. This depiction shows him overseeing his victory at Veracruz during the Mexican War.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

LET'S APPRECIATE THE OLD GENERAL

"OLD FUSS AND FEATHERS" WAS WISE, PRESCIENT, AND AN AMERICAN HERO

WINFIELD SCOTT'S accomplishments place him among the five greatest soldiers in U.S. history—in company with George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and George C. Marshall. Between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, Scott did as much as anyone to forge the nation's professional army and served as its general in chief between 1841 and 1861. His campaign from Veracruz to Mexico City in 1847 prompted the Duke of Wellington to laud him as "the greatest soldier of the age." Many junior officers in Mexico gained knowledge under Scott that they applied when in charge of their own armies during the Civil War. For his accomplishments in Mexico, Scott was brevetted lieutenant general, a regular rank held only by Washington until conferred on Grant in early 1864.

Yet the Winfield Scott of 1861 invites caricature. Nearly 74 years old, he sometimes nodded off during meetings. Once a striking figure at 6-feet-5 and partial to uniforms that explained the nickname "Old Fuss and Feathers," he had inspired West Point cadet Ulysses Grant to call him "the finest specimen of manhood my eyes ever beheld." But more than 350 pounds draped his large frame by 1861, gout and other ailments tormented him, and mounting a horse required the help of special winches. His strategic suggestions in the spring of 1861, which featured a coastal blockade and seizing control of the Mississippi River to choke the Rebel states, received considerable scorn as the "Anaconda Plan." Most of the loyal citizenry preferred a shorter, more direct approach that would smash Confederate forces and end the rebellion in a single dramatic stroke.

During the summer and autumn of 1861, Scott and Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan increasingly locked horns. One of the young officers in Mexico who profited from Scott's example, McClellan initially spoke well of his superior. "All that I know of war I have learned from you," Little Mac wrote while operating in western Virginia, "& in all that I have done I have endeavored to conform to your manner of conducting a campaign." Forty years Scott's junior, McClellan changed tone as he imagined himself in overall charge of U.S. forces. He oozed condescension and self-aggrandizement when remarking of his superior in August: "I do not know whether he is a *dotard* or a *traitor*! I can't tell which. He *cannot* or *will* not comprehend the condition in which we are placed & is entirely unequal to the emergency."

Ailing and fed up with McClellan's behavior, Scott decided to retire. Attorney General Edward Bates' diary noted on November 1, 1861: "A Memorable Day. C.[abinet] C.[ouncil] called at the unusual hour of 9 a.m. to consider of Gen. Scott's letter to Sec: [of] War, declaring his wish, by reason of age and increased ill health, to retire from active military duty....The order was drawn up by the President himself...and was done chastely and in excellent taste....The Prest. made a neat and feeling address, and the Genl. briefly replied, from the depths of his heart—"

McClellan's claim that Scott proved unequal to the crisis of 1861 did the old soldier a great disservice. Although physically declining, the general in chief retained a first-rate mind and drew on vast experience as he pondered how best to defeat the Confederacy. The example of Mexico in 1846-48 probably guided some of his thinking. The United States had blockaded Mexican ports on the east coast and struck the northern provinces of Alta California, New Mexico, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Chihuahua. When those strategic elements proved insufficient, Scott's famous campaign directed U.S. military power into the heart of Mexico.

On May 3, 1861, Scott laid out his thinking to McClellan. He proposed a "complete blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf ports" together with "a powerful movement down the Mississippi to the ocean." The latter would require perhaps 60,000 "of our best regulars and of three-years' volunteers, all well officered, and with four months and a half of instruction camps...." Forces on the Mississippi would turn successive Confederate strongholds and establish garrisoned posts as the campaign progressed. Impatience on the part of "our patriotic and loyal Union friends" posed the "greatest obstacle in the way of this plan," thought Scott: "They will urge instant and vigorous action, regardless, I fear, of consequences."

> **McCLELLAN'S CLAIM THAT SCOTT PROVED UNEQUAL TO THE CRISIS OF 1861 DID THE OLD SOLDIER A GREAT DISSERVICE**

HE KNEW WHAT TO DO
Scott's body was failing when the Civil War began, but his mind was quite sharp. Though mocked by contemporaries, his "Anaconda Plan" was the strategy that subdued the Confederacy with a naval blockade and conquest of the Mississippi Valley.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Scott's letter to McClellan showed a mature grasp of the need to prepare and carefully train green volunteers and avoid the chimera of a quick, decisive battle. It also signaled a willingness to wait while possibly slow-moving operations cut sources of supply and sheared off the Trans-Mississippi section of the Confederacy. Critics at the time and later labeled the plan too passive, a case of Scott's willingness to sit back and allow the blockade and seizure of the Mississippi River to precipitate a Confederate collapse. Where was the equivalent of his campaign against Mexico City?

In fact, Scott foresaw large-scale invasions of the South as a possible feature of Federal operational strategy. On March 3, 1861—long before the Confederacy showed it could mount an impressive military effort—he advised incoming Secretary of State William H. Seward that the U.S. might have to "[c]onquer the seceding States by invading armies." The effort could take two or three years and "three hundred thousand disciplined" soldiers, many thousands of whom would be lost "by skirmishes, sieges, battles, and Southern fevers." "The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful—however perfect the moral discipline of the invaders," counseled Scott, and would entail a toll of "enormous waste of human life to the North and Northwest" and bitter postwar feelings that would frustrate the national goal of speedy reunion.

Scott's letters to Seward and McClellan proved remarkably prescient regarding the war, its cost, and its messy and violent aftermath. Although underestimating both length of time and number of invading troops, he anticipated the Union's winning strategy—blockade the Rebels, divide their territory by seizing the Mississippi, and send armies into the Confederate hinterlands. Scott spent most of his retirement at West Point, where he wrote his memoirs and watched the war unfold much as he had envisioned. He died in 1866 and lies buried in the Academy's cemetery. ★

HE SEES THE PAST

Tim Talbott's shirt is adorned with the image of a USCT veteran. He stands by Texas Brigade earthwork remains on the New Market Heights battlefield.

PHOTO BY JOHN BANKS

REMEMBER NEW MARKET HEIGHTS

U.S. COLORED TROOPS EARNED GLORY IN DESPERATE FIGHTING NEAR RICHMOND

AFTER SPENDING a sleepless Saturday night in a sketchy Richmond hotel, I drive surprisingly uncongested highways to the unheralded New Market Heights battlefield, where U.S. Colored Troops made history. Promptly at 8:30 a.m., I arrive at the already crowded Four Mile Creek Park parking lot, located behind a snake-rail fence astride New Market Road. All my deep-weeds battlefield walk essentials are accounted for: bug spray, long pants, hiking boots, water, snacks, a cellphone and backpack, and curiosity.

Days earlier, Tim Talbott—my New Market Heights guide—had messaged me a warning: "It's supposed to be as hot as blue blazes." His forecast proves spot-on. Virginia in late July is hell with the lid off. But I figure Talbott—the 52-year-old Central Virginia Battlefields Trust chief administrative officer—won't mind.

"It's always an honor to be on that ground," he messaged me in a follow-up to his weather report.

In the parking lot in Henrico, 10 miles southeast of downtown Richmond, Talbott and I exchange pleasantries. This is our first meeting in person, although we've made dozens of Civil War–related connections online. Talbott wears blue jeans, an olive ballcap with the CVBT logo, and a maroon T-shirt. Strands of gray appear in the soft-spoken Tennessee native's black goatee. He lives in Fredericksburg, Va., a 70-mile drive north on beastly Interstate 95.

Talbott has secured permission from Henrico County for us to walk the core New Market Heights battlefield, where, on September 29, 1864, 14 U.S. Colored Troops soldiers and two of their white officers earned the Medal of Honor. The county owns the most important swath of the battlefield, now blanketed by a forest of pine, holly, gum, and oak.

Our battlefield walk begins at a large garbage dumpster, behind a Dairy Queen on the opposite side of New Market Road. Three feral cats—two black, one gray—scatter as we walk toward them and disappear into the woods.

New Market Heights has been stiff-armed in the history books, but it is Talbott's favorite battlefield. Armchair historians sometimes confuse it with the Battle of New Market, fought in the Shenandoah Valley in mid-May 1864. Talbott's interest in the battle stems from a talk given by a professional historian nearly 20 years ago.

"The way he told the story made it

come alive," he says while brushing away pine branches along our narrow path through the woods.

My interest in New Market Heights stems from a meeting at nearby Fort Harrison weeks earlier with Damon Radcliffe, the great-great-grandson of Edward Ratcliff. A former slave, Edward served in the 38th U.S. Colored Troops and received one of those 14 Medals of Honor. Damon and I couldn't walk the battlefield that day, but I vowed to return. My mantra: *If you want to understand a battle, you must walk the ground.*

Fifteen minutes into our walk, we reach a section of woods where the earth undulates, like a haphazardly tossed brown blanket. We have arrived at the remains of earthworks created by the famed Texas Brigade.

"Used to be chest high," Talbott says of defenses, now only as high as three feet in places.

Piles of brown leaves, as well as gnarly tree roots, scattered broken twigs, tree branches and limbs, carpet the forest floor. Mayflies make pests of themselves while cicadas buzz and click. About a half-mile away, traffic hums on six lanes of Interstate 295, which slices through the battlefield like a bayonet through the heart.

In a charge about daybreak toward the earthworks, Black troops shouted: *Remember Fort Pillow! No quarter for the Rebels.* Nearly six months earlier, troops commanded by Nathan Bedford Forrest had massacred USCT at Fort Pillow in Tennessee.

On that bleak, foggy morning at New Market Heights, Black soldiers were out for revenge and a chance to prove their mettle. With one great push by the Union Army, USCT soldiers could soon be marching into the capital of the Confederacy.

Behind earthworks, the Texas Brigade, some 2,000-strong, fired thousands of rounds into the oncoming USCT soldiers they despised. Meanwhile, Rebel artillery, positioned at opposite ends of the heights behind the brigade, poured iron into the USCT.

Fifty to 75 yards in front of their earthworks, the Rebels had placed abatis—sharpened tree branches—and wooden *chevaux de fries*, the distant cousin of barbed wire. Gaps in the defenses funneled the Black soldiers into a kill zone.

"The Texans," a Georgia officer wrote, "killed niggers galore."

Confederate soldiers occasionally advanced beyond their earthworks to strip the dead of shoes, weapons, and ammunition. They murdered at least one captured USCT soldier behind their lines.

Talbott and I venture deeper into the woods, to get a USCT soldier's perspective of the battlefield.

Perspiration pours down my arm, soaking my reporter's notebook and blurring my scribbled words. I've never sweat so much on a battlefield—even in Resaca, Ga., during a reenactment on a blistering mid-May afternoon.

Soon, the drone of interstate traffic becomes a memory. The ground slopes gently up toward the Texas Brigade's earthworks, which stretched for roughly ¾ of a mile. But the tree-covered landscape—largely open ground in 1864—makes New Market Heights mostly a battlefield of the mind.

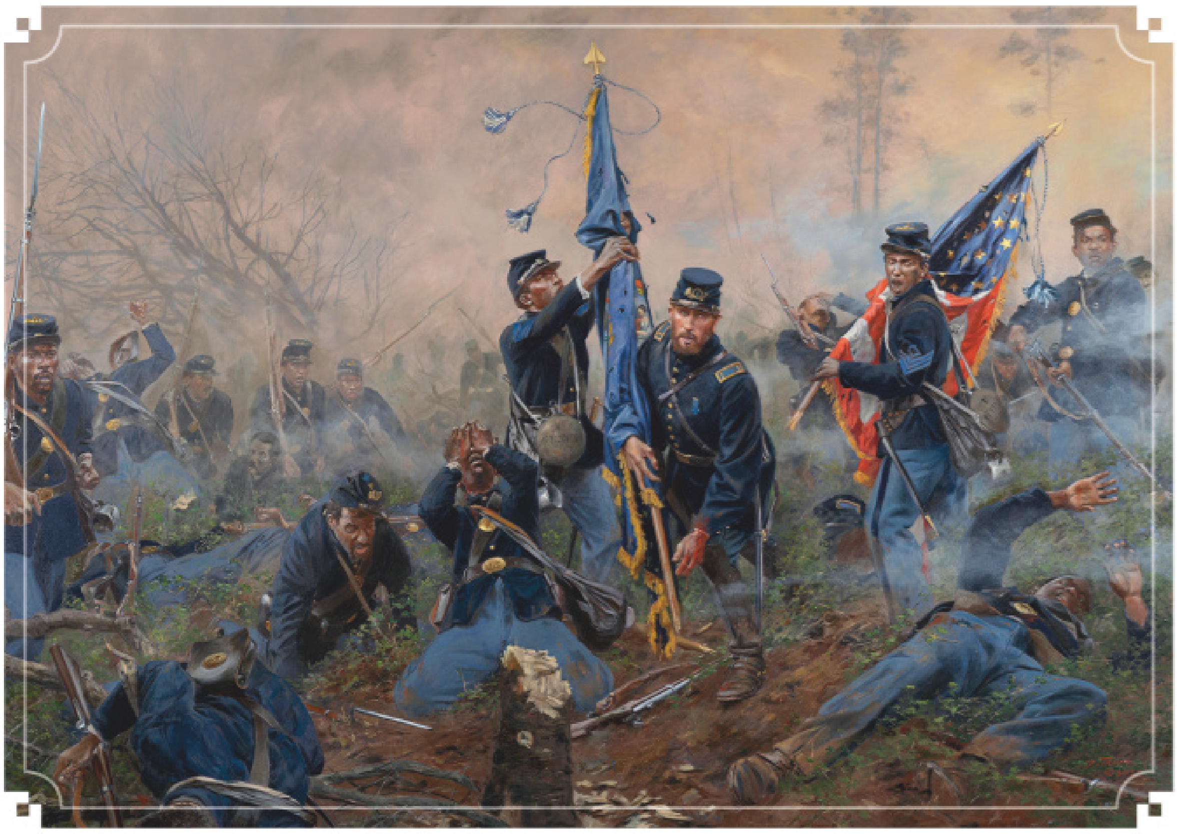
To create a path through the woods, Talbott uses a long stick to swat away holly branches and spider webs. Neither of us wants to take home a blood-sucking tick as a memory of this experience.

"Is this remote enough for you?" Talbott asks.

Eighty yards or so beyond Rebel earthworks, we stop at the edge of a 50-acre rock quarry filled with water—a nasty 20th-century scar on hallowed ground.

"A friend of mine jokes that you could only give kayak tours here now," Talbott says.

In Talbott's perfect world, the quarry would be emptied and filled in. The battlefield where hundreds of Black soldiers and their White officers shed blood would be restored to its 1864 appearance and interpreted. Soldiers such as Corporal Miles James of the 36th USCT, among the 14 Medal of Honor recipients from this battle, would be at least as well-known as Benjamin Butler—the Army of the James general



BLOOD EARNS RESPECT

Don Troiani's *Three Medals of Honor* depicts the moment in the Battle of New Market Heights when Lieutenant Nathan Edgerton, Sgt. Maj. Thomas R. Hawkins, and Sergeant Alexander Kelly of the 6th USCT save their regimental flag.

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NATURAL OBSTACLE
As they rushed toward New Market Heights, the attacking USCT soldiers had to struggle across boggy Four Mile Creek. Some of their White mounted officers fell at this location, but the Black men surged on and up the ridge.

PHOTO BY JOHN BANKS

who commanded them.

Born in Princess Anne County, Va., James had enlisted in Norfolk in November 1863. A 34-year-old farmer, he probably was enslaved before the war. He stood 5 feet 7 with black eyes and hair.

Within 30 yards of Texas Brigade defenses, a bullet burrowed into James' upper left arm, shattering bone. Somehow the corporal continued to load and fire his weapon with his good arm, urging on comrades as the battle swirled. James endured the amputation of his useless limb on the battlefield. Later, the corporal received treatment at Fort Monroe, 75 miles east in the Virginia coast, and a promotion to sergeant.

Despite losing an arm—a golden ticket out of the service if he wanted it—James refused to leave the army. In February 1865, Colonel Alonzo Draper—who commanded James' brigade at New Market Heights—wrote Fort Monroe's chief surgeon:

"He is one of the bravest men I ever saw; and is in every respect a model soldier. He is worth more with his single arm, than half a dozen ordinary men."

James served in the U.S. Army until a disability discharge in October 1865. Hundreds of other Black soldiers like him, nearly all of them former slaves, fought as well as James at New Market Heights.

"Unbelievable bravery," Talbott says of the USCT.

At Four Mile Creek, which snakes its way through the battlefield before dumping into the James River, Talbott and I talk about the white officers on horseback who became prime targets of the Rebels.

"This is where the Rebels thought the USCT would become nothing but rabble after the officers fell," Talbott says. The creek itself became a devilish impediment to USCT soldiers under withering fire.

At creekside, I learn more about Talbott, too.

He grew up in Madison, Ind., a stop on the Underground Railroad—the network escaped slaves used to flee to free states and Canada. At his 1,000-student high school, he played football ("not very well") and grew to enjoy rap and hip-hop—which some of his White peers thought strange.

Talbott's high school history teacher—"a 1960s hippie"—exposed him to "all the cultural stuff," including the Civil Rights era and two of its leading personalities, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. For the past 30 years, he has immersed himself in the experiences of Black people during the Civil War.

On his phone, Talbott displays wallpaper of Frederick Douglass—the famous Black orator, abolitionist, writer, and reformer. The copy of the painting on his maroon T-shirt, now drenched with sweat, is of a one-legged USCT soldier on crutches. Talbott dreams of a monument at Four Mile Creek Park to honor the USCT, who forced the Texas Brigade to fall back to a secondary line. The Black troops ultimately entered Richmond, but not until after the capital's fall in April 1865.

As we walk through the Virginia forest, Talbott and I wonder why this battle—and this battlefield—have been consigned to the shadows of history. *Racism? Indifference? Ignorance?* In the late 1980s and early 1990s, an effort failed by a Black military history group to have the battlefield named a National Historic Landmark.

Thankfully, hundreds of acres of the New Market Heights battlefield have been saved by the American Battlefield Trust and other preservation groups. But much has been lost forever because of modern development.

Two hours after our walk began, sweaty and dirty, we leave the woods and September 1864 behind. On a pathway along New Market Road to the Four Mile Creek Park parking lot, Talbott and I talk about the battle, preservation, and Civil War memory.

"Many people say they love history, but what they really love is nostalgia," he says. "I love messy history. That's where the good stuff is."

Messy history—that's a perfect encapsulation of the Battle of New Market Heights. ★

John Banks, author of two Civil War books, has another one coming in 2023. Check out A Civil War Road Trip of a Lifetime *(Gettysburg Publishing) for more on this story. For more on New Market Heights, including soldier stories, go to battleofnewmarketheights.org*

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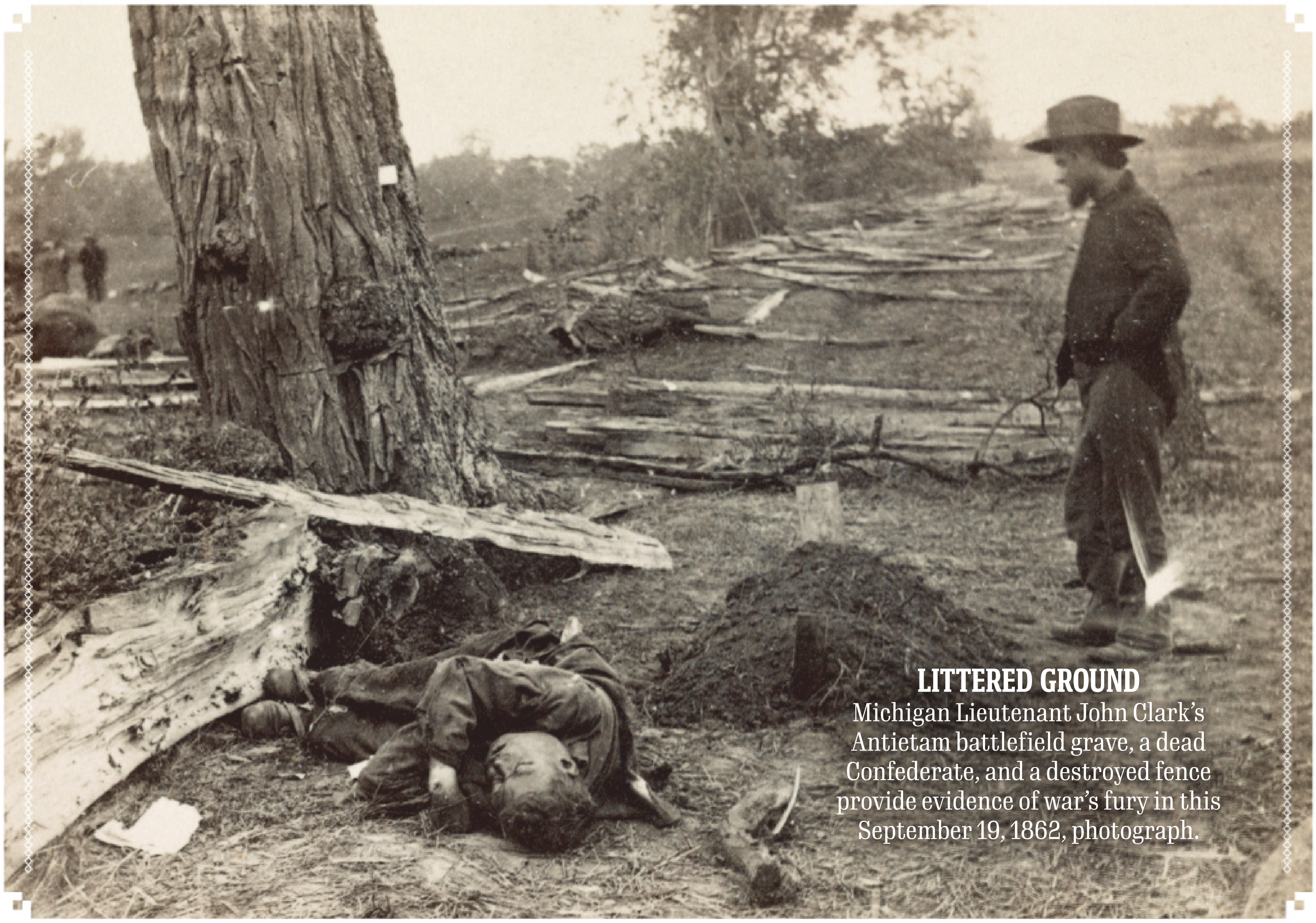

LITTERED GROUND
Michigan Lieutenant John Clark's Antietam battlefield grave, a dead Confederate, and a destroyed fence provide evidence of war's fury in this September 19, 1862, photograph.

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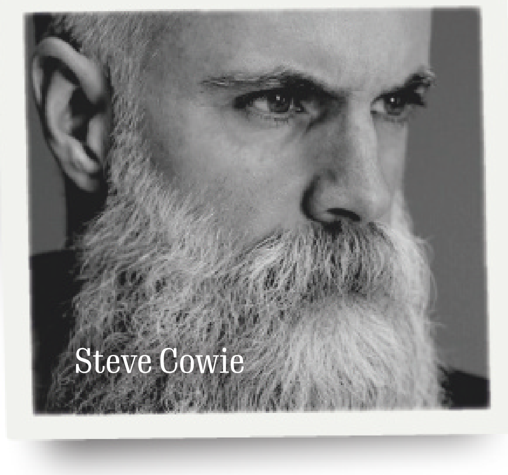
SHATTERED SHARPSBURG



Steve Cowie

STEVE COWIE SPENT 15 years researching how the Battle of Antietam and the following military occupations affected the prosperous small town of Sharpsburg, Md. Captivated by the Civil War since childhood, Cowie used skills developed as a screenwriter to shape the myriad details he uncovered into an affecting narrative of the tornado of war that repeatedly touched down on the villagers' landscape. The battle's legacy is more than the thousands of casualties; the troop presence changed Sharpsburg in many ways and forever. By probing the war claims that Sharpsburg farmers submitted for property lost during the military occupation, Cowie's *When Hell Came to Sharpsburg* (Savas Beatie, 2022) opened a window on the war's long-lasting consequences for Sharpsburg.

***CWT:* Why did you focus on Sharpsburg?**

SC: When I began I really focused only on just the battle and the 1862 Maryland Campaign. After studying the battle and the region, that's when I really began to feel a pull toward the civilian aspect. Part of the reason I was able to find so much is that I had spent a number of years studying the genealogies of these people and the land records to determine who lived in Sharpsburg in 1862 and where. So I knew exactly who I was looking for when I arrived at the National

Archives to examine war claims. I had to go through the 250 individual claims and analyze them on a claim-by-claim basis.

***CWT:* What made Sharpsburg unique?**
SC: Number one, it was the battle itself, the bloodiest day in American history as many historians have cited, and just the magnitude of that battle, the terror and the stress inflicted on the people, and the horrible aftermath with all the bodies and the dead horses. But what really made it unique, unlike Gettysburg and Monocacy, is that the Army of the Potomac, McClellan's army, decided to stay in Sharpsburg after the battle. In those other campaigns, the armies fought and left, leaving their wounded and medical personnel behind. Most of the Army of the Potomac camped near Sharpsburg for six weeks. There's an abundance of evidence to show these 75,000 troops were poorly supplied, and as a result they had no choice except to live off the people, so to speak, and use their homes and farms as their supply depots. The river crossing known as Blackford's Ford, Shepherdstown Ford, or Boteler's Ford was the biggest portal between Confederate Virginia and Union Maryland between Harpers Ferry and Williamsport. Because of that ford, Confederate divisions actually bivouacked at Sharpsburg during the Gettysburg and the Monocacy campaigns. These Confederates attracted Federal forces to the area who ended up encamping near the ford as well. And all these poor farmers who were struggling to recover from Antietam were devastated by property losses in 1863 and 1864. So, though those campaigns do not relate to Antietam, they really did inflict setbacks on those struggling to recover. And that's another way I like to see Sharpsburg as being a different community in the war. It was hit by multiple campaigns.

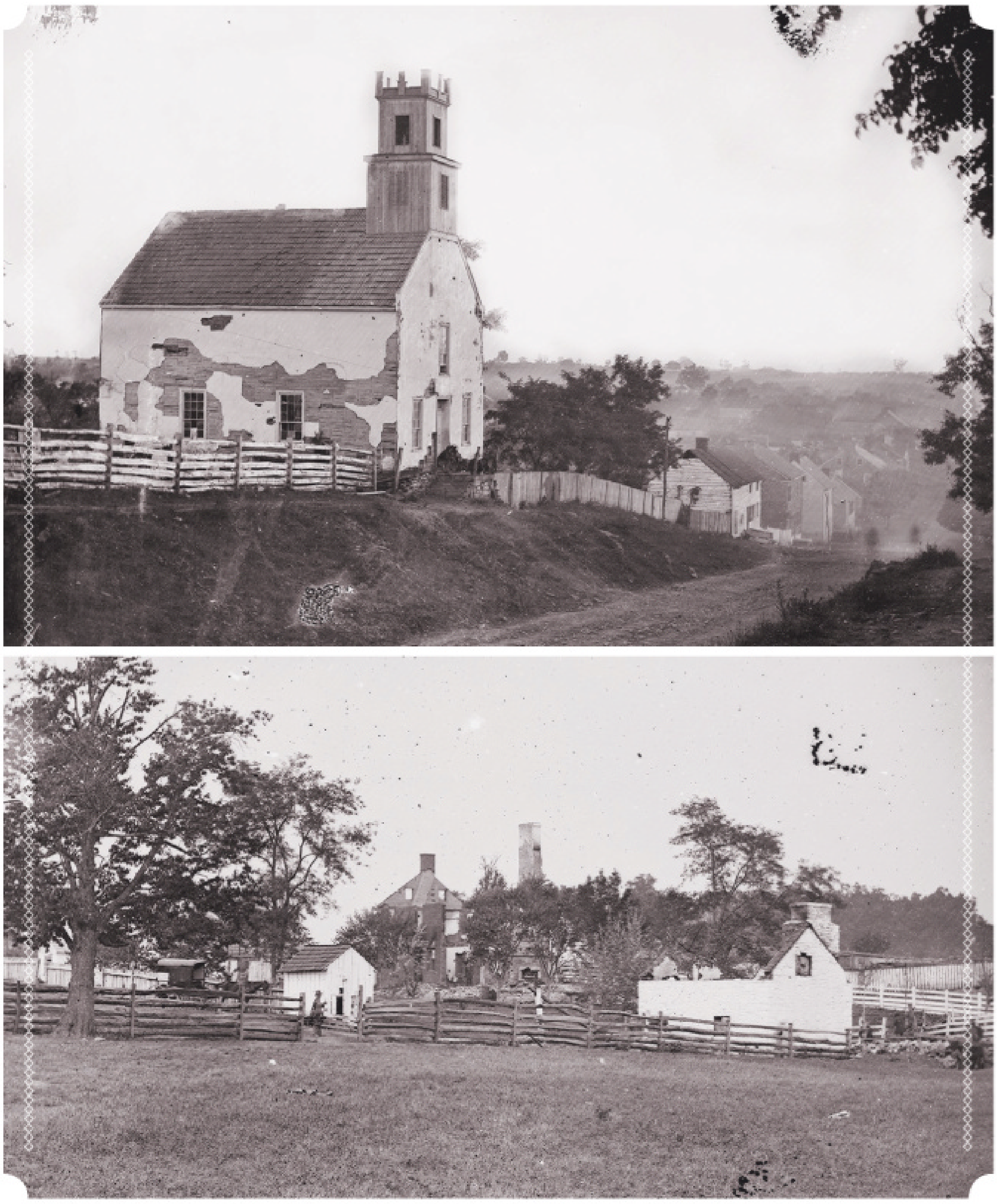
***CWT:* Talk about the immediate aftermath of the battle of Antietam.**
SC: The estimate on the map by S.G. Elliott, a cartographer who visited Sharpsburg in 1864, is more than 5,800 soldiers were buried just in the area where the combat occurred and near the battlefield. WHO and the CDC studies well document that dead bodies don't cause disease outbreaks, but what happens if one of those bodies had typhoid fever at the time of its death? You throw in all the dead horses and the thousands of tons of manure from the animals that were there after the battle that contained pathogens such as E. Coli and other dangerous bacteria. With all the human waste of 75,000 soldiers and the hundreds of livestock carcasses butchered by the army, it gives pause to think about how much waste and dangerous materials could be washed into the groundwater or transmitted to areas where food is served by the swarms of houseflies that were all over the battlefield for weeks.

SHARPSBURG WAS DESCRIBED AS A BARE COMMONS, UNRECOGNIZABLE AS THIS BARREN PLAIN

***CWT:* What did you find in the records of local Dr. Biggs?**
SC: His original daybooks provided a wealth of information. I was able to look at his house calls in early 1862 and track them through late 1863. Starting in late September after the battle, there is a spike in the calls, quadrupling by November 1862, and the number of patients also expanded. Those numbers return to normal about May of 1863. He logged the name of each person he saw, the day he saw them, and the medicine he dispensed.

***CWT:* Wood was a critical resource for the armies. Talk about what happened to the fencing on Sharpsburg farms.**
SC: It was not uncommon for Sharpsburg farmers to have seven, eight, nine different fields that were all fenced at the time of the battle. Some contained wheat; some farms had one or two corn fields; some had potato patches, orchards, clover fields, all of them fenced to keep animals from devouring the crops. It was miles and miles of fencing on some of these farms, which could be 260 or 320 acres. So when you consider the boundary fencing, any fencing that went along farm lanes, around barns, around gardens near the houses—it was a labyrinth of fencing that took years to construct and, according to the claims, all of it disappeared on many farms. This was extremely expensive and laborious to replace. The loss of all this fencing was devastating to Sharpsburg. There was one account, one resident talked about how disorienting it was to navigate home in the darkness, without all that fencing to aid in deciding where to turn and so forth. It was described by multiple witnesses as a bare commons, unrecognizable as this barren plain.

***CWT:* Describe the impact of burials on these farms.**
SC: Dead bodies had been sitting out for two to three days before the Union burials occurred. And then the Confederate burials took place after that. With the difficult limestone land of Sharpsburg, and the rush to inter all these remains, most of these graves and burial trenches were very shallow. There were no coffins for the bodies in the mass graves, so it didn't take much for a hard rainfall or a foraging animal to expose the remains, and many of these remains were exposed a week after the battle. One visitor in 1865 to David Miller's farm was shocked to see skulls and femur bones lying about. A farmhand explained that Miller had lost so much fencing from the battle that he had only one spot on his farm that was still enclosed. All of his



BATTERED BY SHOT, RAVAGED BY FIRE

Union artillery shells badly damaged the 1768 Lutheran Church, top, on the east side of Sharpsburg. Troops from the 3rd North Carolina burned the Mumma farmhouse, bottom, so it could not provide cover for Union troops.

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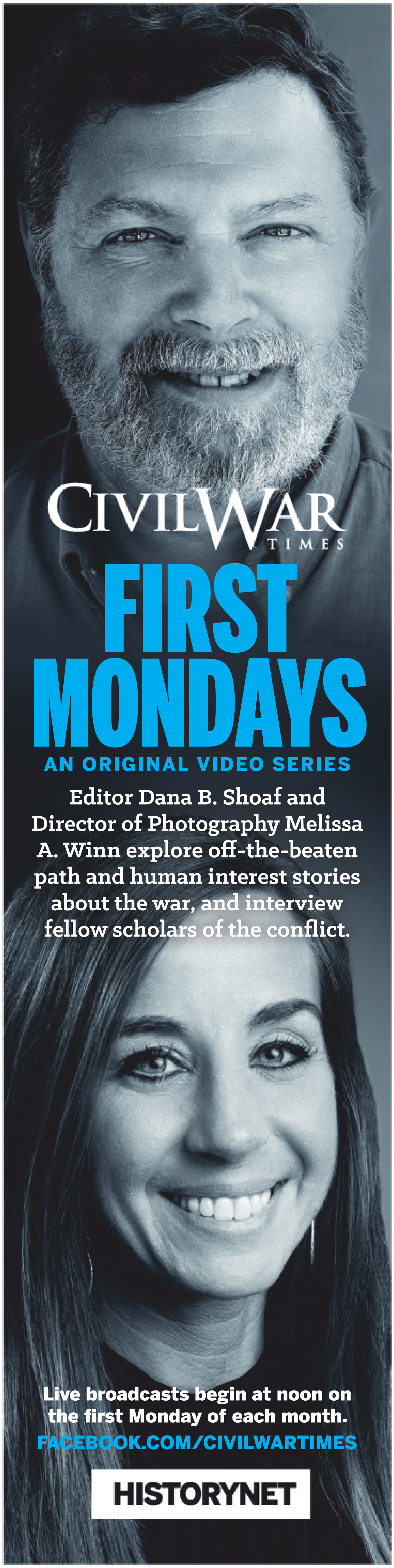
livestock had been slaughtered by the troops. He had been able to acquire new hogs and the only place to put them was in this enclosed field that contained burial trenches. The hogs uprooted the dead, and there are several accounts of visitors to the area being mortified at seeing foraging hogs walking around carrying a human limb in its mouth. Really nightmarish stuff. It was the desecration of these bones that shocked a lot of people to complain, and eventually the state of Maryland decided to take action and pay proper respect to the Union dead by establishing the national cemetery. A lot of it had to do with these bones that were scattered everywhere. It was terrible.

CWT: **You looked through many of the claims for lost property, and found strict limitations on what could be claimed. Talk about the longstanding impact.**
SC: With the devastation of the war and the postwar economy, along with the inflation and the minuscule war claims, or the rejected war claims, a lot of people either lost their homes to bankruptcy, or they had to sell them, just to start their lives over, like the Philip Pry family. Due to all these combined issues, a lot of residents got swept up in westward migration. They decided to start their lives over by migrating to Illinois, Kansas, especially California. A lot of prominent Sharpsburg-area farmers saw their children emigrate to California. Eventually the tourism that came in when a railroad depot was established, around the 1880s, brought a lot of veterans into the area for the Antietam reunions. Over time Sharpsburg began to recover because of increased tourism to the area and also due to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which employed a number of residents in the 1870s and 1880s.

CWT: **What did you find most surprising after all your study?**
SC: I didn't expect so many people in the five-mile radius of the battlefield to have suffered such devastating losses to their livestock, grains, and fencing, but as was told by a lot of evidence and the testimony of the claims, the Army of the Potomac moved toward the river once the Confederate army left Maryland on the night of September 18. Once the fencing disappeared near the camps along the river and all the available grains for the forage for the army animals, a lot of these soldiers started going east, more toward farms near the battlefield or even beyond that to property closer to Antietam Creek to load up wagons with food, fence rails, and animal forage and bring it back to their camps closer to the Potomac River. I didn't expect this amount of devastation over the six-week period. It was amazing in other words how much an army can consume just by being in camp. An all-devouring machine. I just don't think anyone—nor myself when I started this project—was able to envision not only the amount of property destroyed but the expanse on which it was destroyed. ★

Interview conducted by Senior Editor Sarah Richardson.



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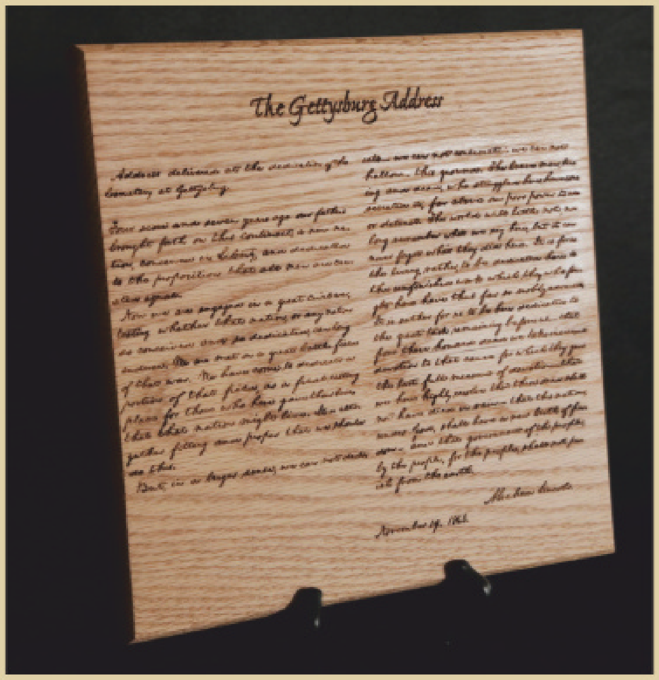

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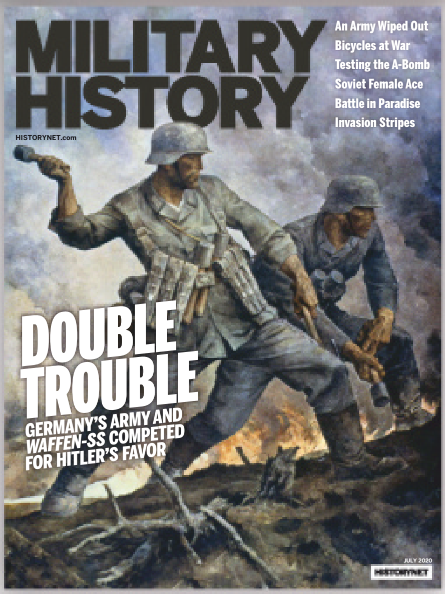
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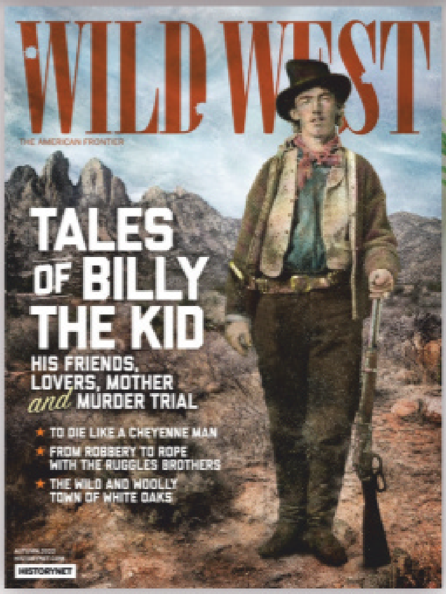
THE STAR BOXERS WHO FOUGHT A PROXY WAR BETWEEN AMERICA AND GERMANY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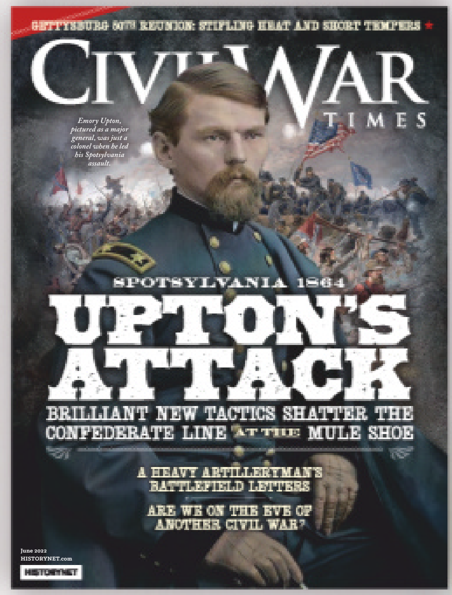
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by Dana B. Shoaf

The editor spared no expense for his target. A scrap piece of metal roofing with a painted bullseye.

BACKYARD LESSON

A SOBERING TARGET PRACTICE

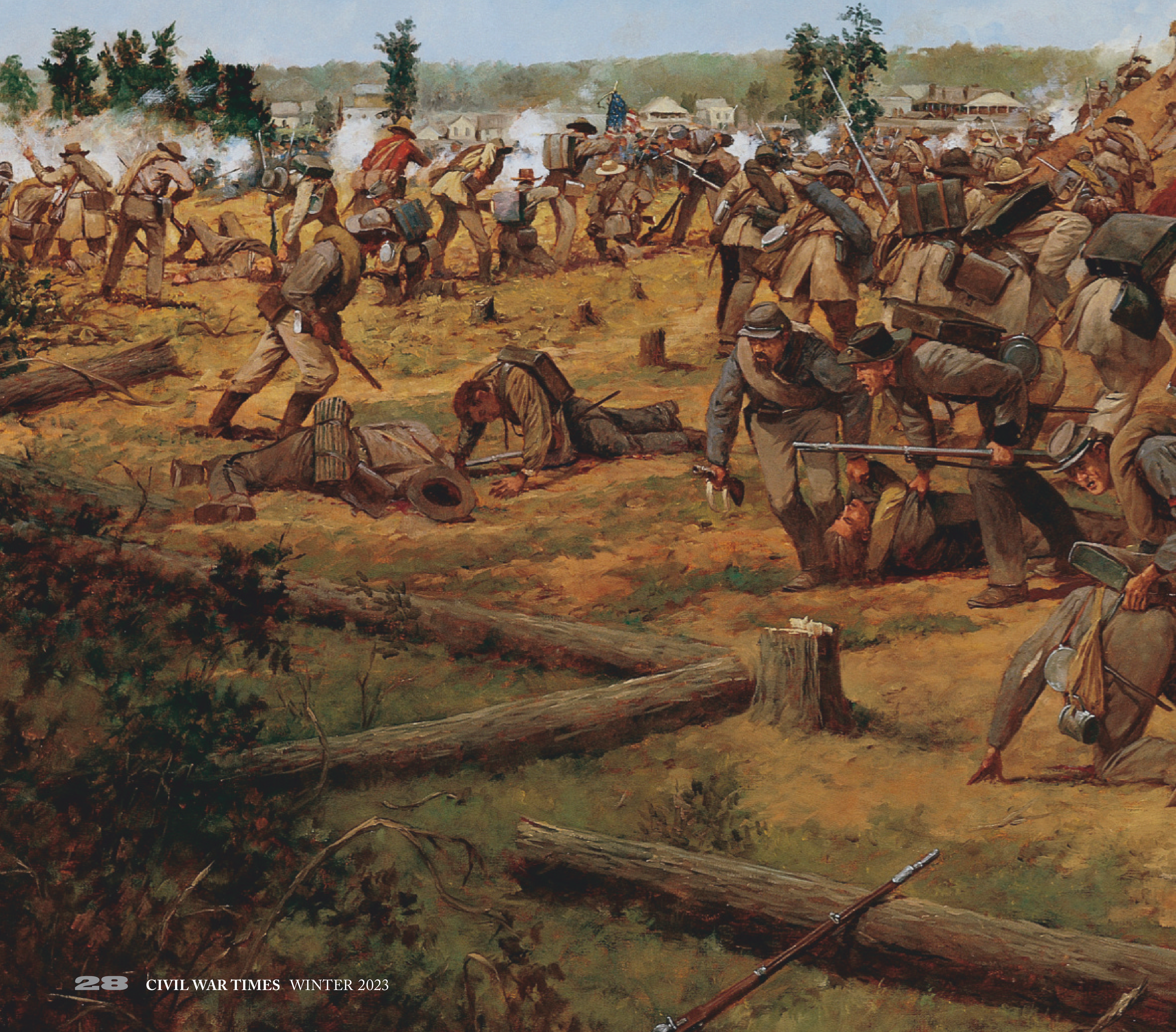
I RECENTLY ACQUIRED A SMITH CARBINE, similar to those pictured in Armament (P. 60), thanks to the help of advisory board member Phil Spaugy. Phil, a member of the North-South Skirmish Association, is my go-to person when I have a firearms question. I've been shooting the Smith at a target set up at the back portion of my property, where a steep ridge makes a good, safe backstop. If you follow the link on P. 62, you can watch me pop away with the Smith. The carbine fires a .50-caliber conical slug, small by Civil War shoulder arm standards. But I remember when I went to a World War II airshow as a kid and saw .50-caliber rounds used on American warplanes. I was awed at their size and thought about the damage they could cause. I know the bullets are very different in many ways, but a .50-caliber slug in any form is no joke. After I had fired about 20 rounds with the Smith, I took a look behind the target at the flora, which is mostly large shrubs called spice bush. I was surprised. I shouldn't have been, but I was, at the damage the bullets caused. Shot-through branches, bullet-scarred trunks, and freshly fallen leaves greeted my view. Mississippi soldier Augustus Mecklin recalled his shock as gunfire instantly tore nature apart in front of his eyes at Shiloh, P. 28. He remembered that as vividly as he remembered the sight of falling comrades. I think that's why the sight of maimed bushes took me back. If a few bullets could do that much damage to plants, they could render worse to equally fragile humans. I'm glad I have these reminders of how horrible the war was, lest I grow too fond of it. ★

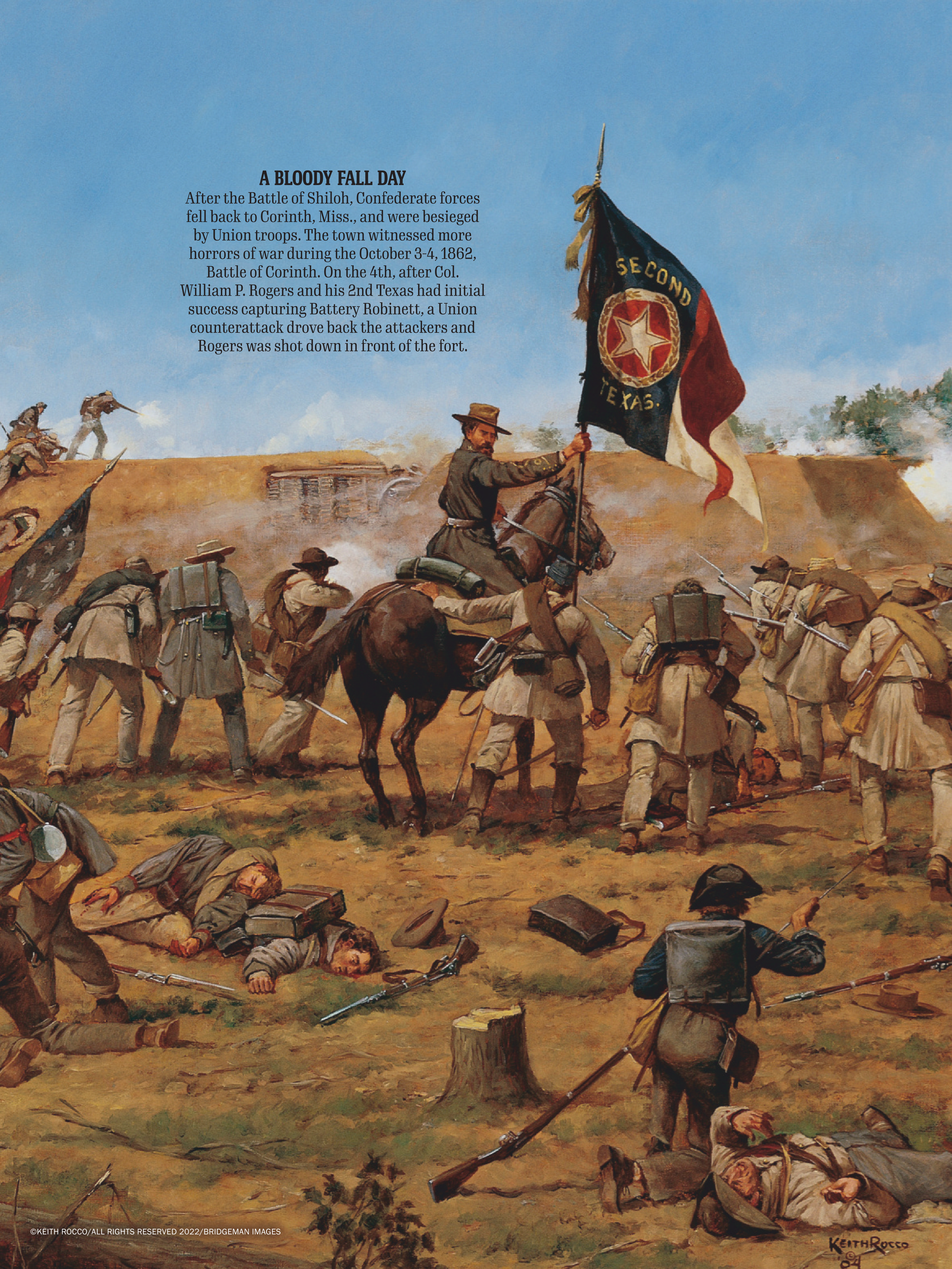
PHOTO BY MELISSA A. WINN

WAR COMES TO THE WEST

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH AND THE SIEGE OF CORINTH BROUGHT WAR'S HARSH REALITY TO THE WESTERN CONFEDERACY

BY TRACE BRUSCO





A BLOODY FALL DAY

After the Battle of Shiloh, Confederate forces fell back to Corinth, Miss., and were besieged by Union troops. The town witnessed more horrors of war during the October 3-4, 1862, Battle of Corinth. On the 4th, after Col. William P. Rogers and his 2nd Texas had initial success capturing Battery Robinett, a Union counterattack drove back the attackers and Rogers was shot down in front of the fort.

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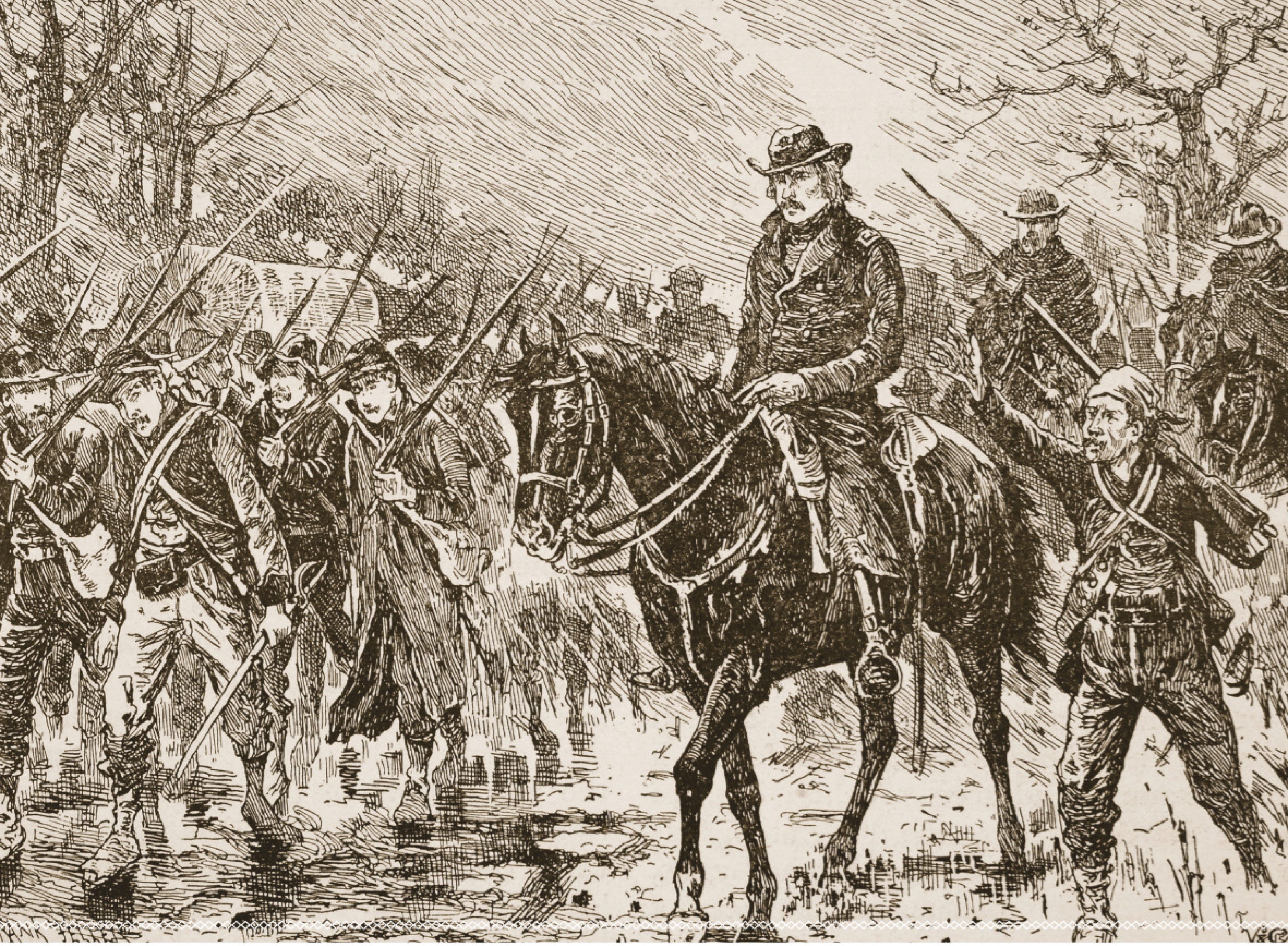


NATURE SHOWS NO MERCY

Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston leads his troops through a cold, miserable rain to Shiloh, where Johnston would be killed in the fighting on April 6, 1862. "The roads became so muddy from the continued rains as to be almost impassable," remembered Lieutenant Edwin H. Reynolds of the 5th Tennessee Infantry.

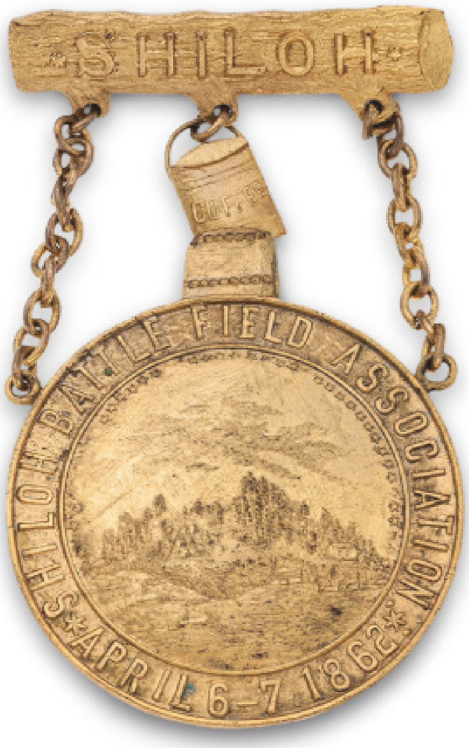
THE STAPLETON COLLECTION/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Mississippi suffered greatly throughout the Civil War, but it was at Corinth where citizens and volunteers first endured the carnage of war amplified by a bloody clash deep in the Tennessee wilderness. Early on, gaining possession of Corinth—an important railroad junction in northeastern Mississippi—garnered immediate attention from both Union and Confederate commands. Tucked away in a swampy lowland and divided by jagged ravines and dried-up creek beds, Corinth presented an arduous physical challenge for the massive armies that converged on the town. So it was in the spring of 1862 that the Civil War found Corinth and brought along the reality of a long and bloody struggle.

Shiloh was Corinth's prelude to war. As for the inexperienced civilian-soldiers, the reality of the combat experienced there was a shock. Most combatants who survived the fight left the battlefield wholly bewildered, unable to process what seemed like an entirely new way of war. Veteran's recollections of Shiloh and Corinth—some of them written decades later—give us insight into the brutality of this devastating war.

Confederate Captain Francis A. Shoup, Mississippi Private Augustus Mecklin, Ohio Captain George Rogers, and Confederate nurse Kate Cumming experienced Shiloh and the action around Corinth through different lenses. Shiloh was Shoup's first brush with intense combat. So traumatic was the fight that following the war the sight of budding trees immediately transported him back to the spring of 1862. The fight also scarred the young Mecklin. So much so that he did not and would not see the war through. Others like the ardent abolitionist Rogers and the passionate Cumming were inspired by their experiences and were determined to see the end—no matter the cost.

Before war touched those combatants, however, their fates were dictated by decisions of untried commanders unprepared to direct war on such a large scale. In February 1862, Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston waffled under such pressures. Johnston had to stop his retreating armies and devise a plan to counter the Union offensives from western and eastern Kentucky. On February 5, 1862, General P.G.T. Beauregard arrived in Bowling Green, Ky., to assist Johnston with conjuring a stopgap for the crumbling Confederate defensive line. But Johnston offered no practical solution for halting the Union thrust toward Tennessee. Beauregard quickly suggested a concentration of Confederate forces at Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Johnston agreed—somewhat—and sent 15,000 troops to defend the route to Nashville. Nevertheless, the force was insufficient, and Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River fell after a few weeks. For the "victor of Donelson," Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, an unchecked advance down the Tennessee River into Alabama and Mississippi became a reality.



FOR THE FORTUNATE SONS

Soldiers who made it through the gore of Shiloh formed the National Association of the Battle of Shiloh Survivors, which both Union and Confederate veterans could join. A can of coffee is suspended from the log emblazoned Shiloh, showing how it helped reunite former foes.

In a rush to establish a rallying point for his receding commands, Johnston suggested to Beauregard the northeastern Alabama town of Stevenson. Yet again, Johnston's suggestion puzzled the Creole who countered by hinting at converging the forces at Corinth. Johnston concurred and in early March 1862, approximately 40,000 Confederate troops from all over the south assembled at Corinth for a counteroffensive against the Union advance down the Tennessee River.

Thus, Corinth became the staging point for a showdown between Grant and Johnston. The sleepy town transformed into a dusty military hub and quickly filled up with excited Confederates enthralled at the idea of striking back at the captors of Fort Donelson. The enemy that many Confederate soldiers imagined as inferior fighters were much like themselves, however. Grant's Army of the Tennessee and Maj. Gen. Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio were "Westerners"—men from Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Farmers, tradespeople, rural schoolmasters, and pious preachers made up the majority of both contending armies at Shiloh. Confederates from Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas ran into a familiar foe at Shiloh, and though green, they too were determined to conquer.

Three years before his death in 1896, ex-Confederate Francis Asbury Shoup sat down for an interview with the *Confederate Veteran.* In the twilight of his life, Shoup reminisced over the Vicksburg and Atlanta campaigns with remarkable detail and, like many ex-Confederates, cast blame of shortcomings upon his superiors. But for Shoup, a former captain and chief of artillery for William Hardee's Corps, he began his story on April 5, 1862. He recalled the 23-mile slog from Corinth, and riding about the battle lines of Hardee's Corps in deep reflection.

The Confederates were only a few miles from the Union encampment at Pittsburg Landing, Tenn. Shoup and his men bided their time listening to merry Federal camp tunes and taking in the tranquil scenery in a rare reprise from the rain. "[We] had plenty of time to look at the dogwood blooms, of which the woods were full." The old soldier recalled: "I never see them now that I do not think of Shiloh." Further to the rear, Private Augustus Hervey Mecklin, Co. I, 15th Mississippi Infantry, did not have the ear of a general or of any officer for that matter. A few days after the Battle of Shiloh, Mecklin wrote an intense letter to sort out what he saw. But on April 5, he lay only a couple thousand yards behind Hardee's lines. Prophetically, he thought of his comrades' impending demise and the scores of grieving mothers back home. Perhaps Mecklin looked to the sky for guidance. He noted: "The trees were budding into the first leaf of spring."

As dusk set in on April 5, Captain Shoup trailed Hardee to a council of war called by Johnston. Shoup was not present at the conference with Johnston's corps commanders but waited on the outskirts of the meeting. Afterward, Hardee informed Shoup of the situation. According to Shoup, Hardee was discouraged about the assault the next day. In addition, most of Johnston's corps commanders reciprocated the feeling. Shoup affirmed during his interview with *Confederate Veteran* that Hardee confided to him afterward: "After listening for sometime Gen.

IN IT TO THE END

Francis Shoup designed a line of 36 unique, arrow-shaped redoubts that were built in late June and early July 1864 to protect the approaches to Atlanta along the Chattahoochee River. Union forces, however, were able to avoid the forts, nicknamed "Shoupades."

HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; ALABAMA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES

Johnston cut them short by saying, 'Gentlemen, return to your commands; the attack will be made at dawn. If the men have no rations they must take them from the enemy.'"

Shoup believed until his dying day that "we [the Confederates] came that near turning tail, even at the last moment." But unfortunately for Shoup, Mecklin, and tens of thousands of others, no retreat was sounded. As historian Timothy B. Smith puts it best: Johnston cast the "iron dice of battle." There was no going back.

> ARTILLERY ON BOTH SIDES TORE LIMBS FROM MAN AND TREE

The morning of April 6 was "very warm," Mecklin recalled. "The sky was clear and but for the horrible monster death who now pile high carnival, this might have been such a Sabboth [*sic*] morn as would have called pleasant recollections of Sabboth bells & religious enjoyment." As he and the 15th Mississippi waited for their chance for a glimpse of 'the elephant,' Captain Shoup, attached to the first Confederate assaulting force, rode manically through rough underbrush and low-hanging branches in search of anyone to give him orders.

While dodging monstrous splinters, Shoup recollected catching sight of the foe: "It seems that the enemy was just sending out some scouts, at any rate our skirmishers were engaged very early." Glancing about, Shoup quickly realized "it was all haphazard—line against line—patching up weak places with troops from anywhere they could be got." He lamented "for several hours the [f]iring was constant."

From about 7 a.m. to 11 a.m., the battle progressed methodically. At first contact just before 6 a.m., Johnston's raw regiments had orchestrated a disorganized lunge at a momentarily startled Union force. But under the direction of Brig. Gens. William T. Sherman, Stephen Hurlbut, and W.H.L. Wallace, the Federals worked an effective delaying defense as Grant constructed a formidable defensive line near Pittsburg Landing. Meanwhile, inexperienced troops on both sides maneuvered awkwardly through dense foliage.

The carnage was severe. Artillery on both sides tore limbs from man and tree. At 9:30 a.m., the Union right began to crumble and fell back to the Tilghman Branch around Jones Field. There Sherman and McClernand scrambled to steady their raw troops in face of a rapidly regenerating Confederate advance. It was there where Augustus Mecklin and the 15th Mississippi deployed to one of the battle's epicenters: Brig. Gen. Benjamin Prentiss' camp along the Hamburg-Purdy Road.

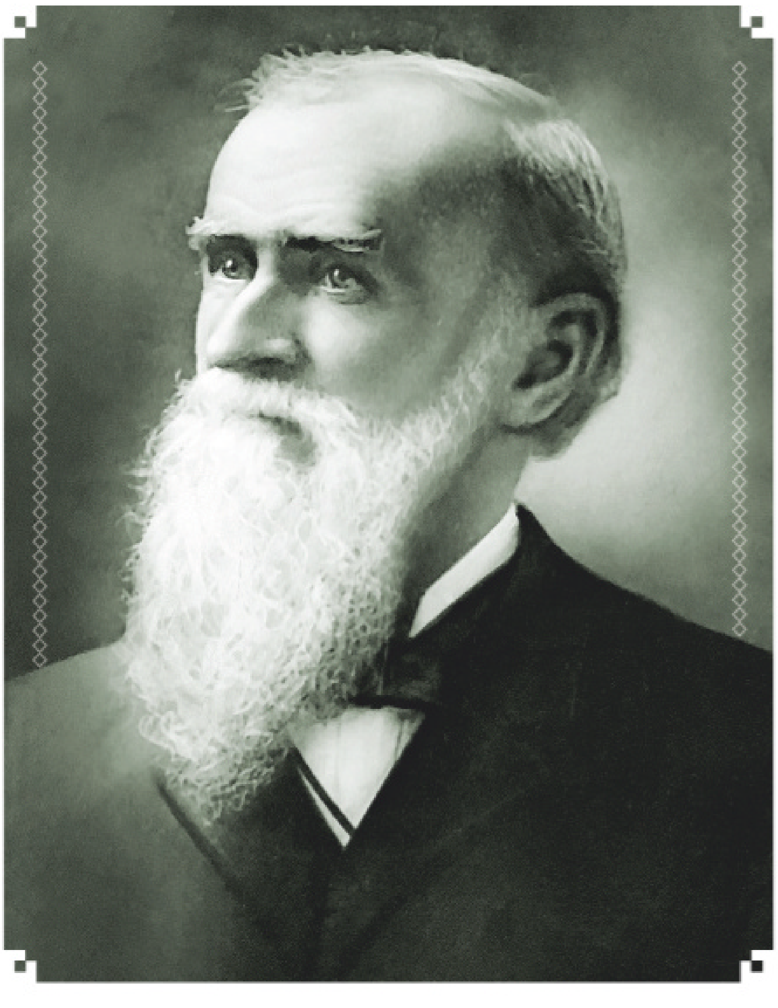
Mecklin recalled his callow unit's advance: "Just at this juncture while making a rapid march at double quick one of our Liets [lieutenants] was shot through the hand accidentally by his own pistol & just at the same moment almost, our adjutant, the Lieut's Bro., was stabbed accidentally in the thigh. With a bayonet."

The 15th Mississippi continued forward, advancing uncertainly toward disorganized but stabilizing Federal lines. As the Mississippians bypassed booming batteries, Mecklin recorded their gruesome effect: "Here & there we saw the bodies of dead men—friends & foes lying together. Some torn to mince meat by cannon balls. Some still writhing in the agonies of death. We halted for a short time near where a poor fellow was lying leaning against a tree severely wounded."

In awe of the terrific noise, he added, "The cannon appeared to be carrying on this contest wholly among themselves." While taking shelter at a tree line, Mecklin longed to escape the exposed position: "Some of the balls reached us & while we were halted one struck a tree nearly a foot through & splitting it a sunder tore a poor fellow who was behind it into a thousand pieces."

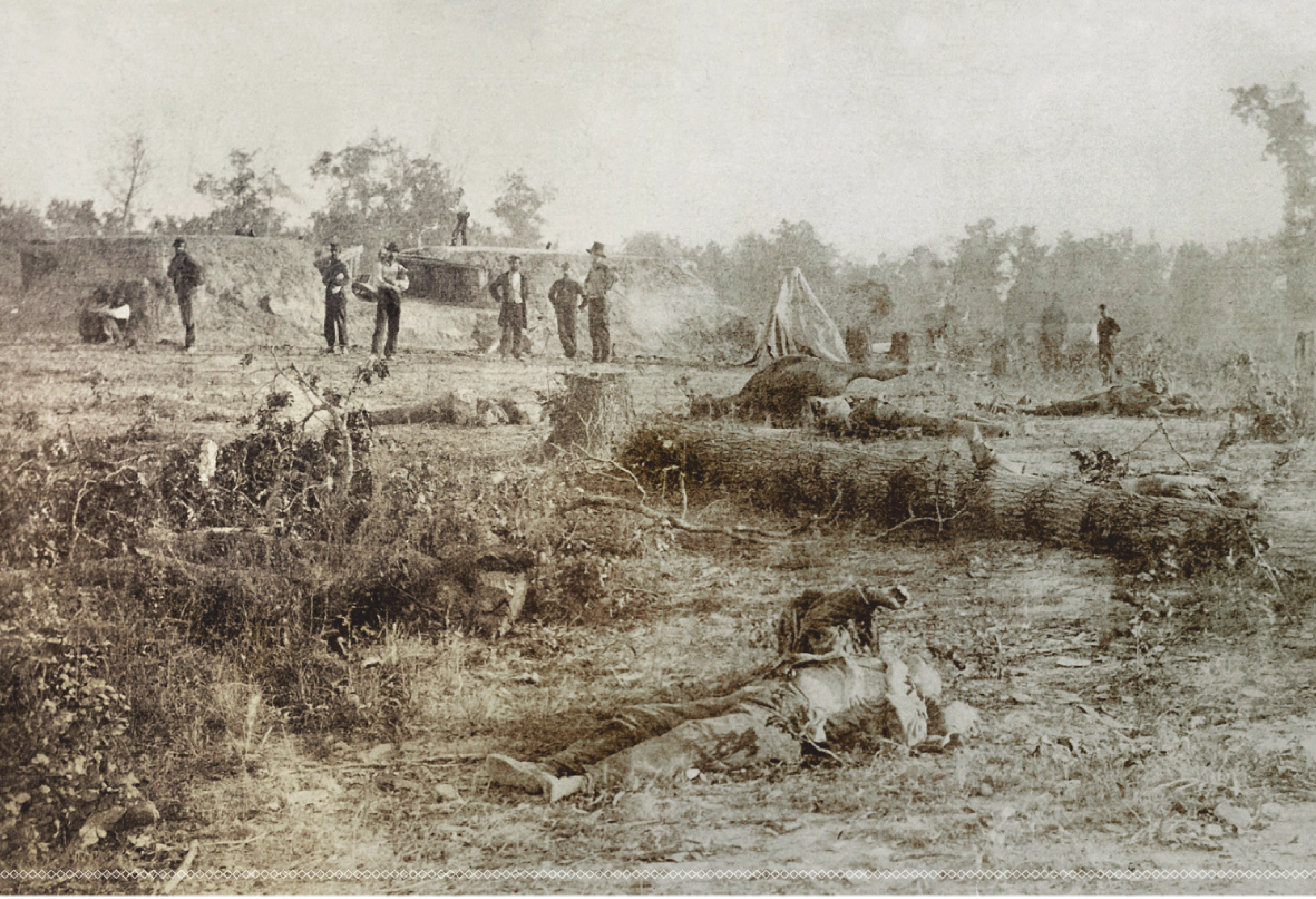
The Mississippians, however, pressed on. In the advance, Mecklin looked about and recalled the image of the idyllic atmosphere torn by hot iron and lead: "The trees were spotted with bullet holes. Many branches & tree tops not budding into the tender leaf of spring bowed their heads, torn partly from the forest stem by the balls of both sides."

When the Mississippians reached volleying distance, Mecklin's fears became reality: He caught a glimpse of the elephant. "For the first time in my life, I heard the whistle of bullets," he recalled. "We took shelter behind the tents & some wagons & a pile of corn & returned the fire



ANOTHER WORLD
A postwar view of Mississippian Augustus Mecklin. As shocked as he was at the sight of dead men during his first battle, he also vividly recalled how bullets tore apart the natural world. "The trees were spotted with bullet holes," he later wrote, and he saw one tree split "a sunder."

COURTESY OF FRENCH CAMP PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



GHASTLY VIEW
Union soldiers observe Confederate dead killed during the fight for Corinth's Battery Robinett, background. The bodies of 2nd Texas Colonel Rogers and his horse can be seen just above the log. Battlefield images from the Western Theater are rare, and those that show the grim aftermath of battle are even more scarce.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

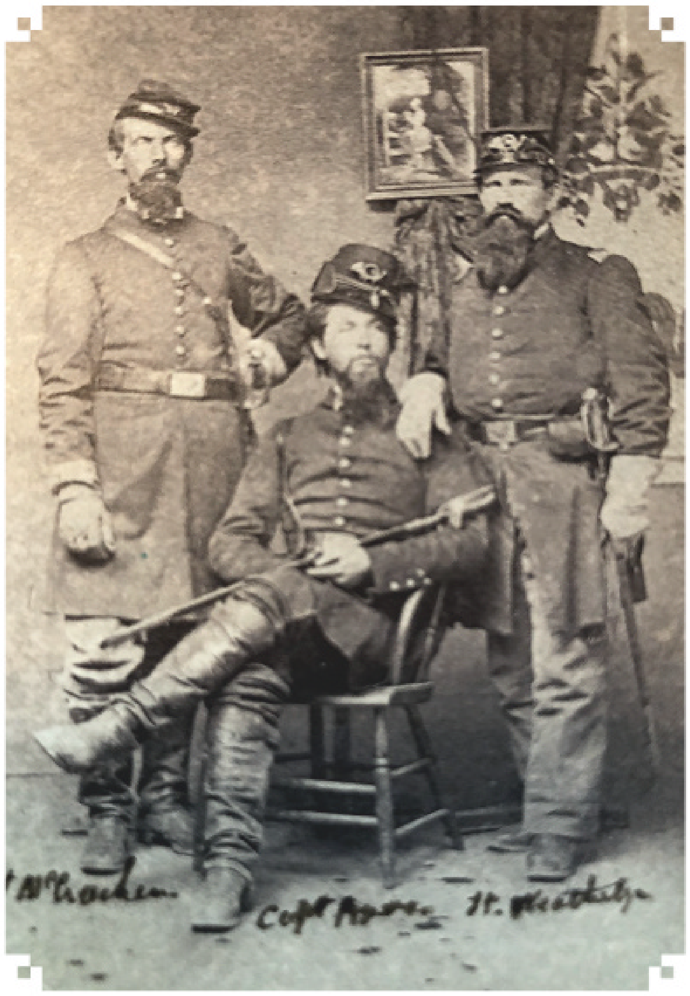
of the enemy with spirit." With exasperated prose, Mecklin continued: "The bullets whistle around my ear. I was near the front & firing. lay down to load soon men were falling on all sides." Around him, comrades fell: "Two in Co. E just in front of me fell dead shot through the brain. On my left in our own Co., W. Wilson, W. Thompson & Ben. Stewart. Bro. Geo. & James Boskins were wounded."

Mechanically, Mecklin went to work, doing his best to block out the destruction. He fired so rapidly, in fact, that his rifle gummed up: "…my gun got so foul that I could not get my ball down. Taking a short stick that lay near, I drove the ball down. Again the tube became filled up & not being able to get it off, I called to one of Co. E. to throw me the gun of a wounded man by him. I fired this until the tube became filled. Throwing it down I went to the rear & picking up my ho' gun held on until the battle was over."

At the epicenter of the fighting, Mecklin and Shoup were not aware the Confederate high command was in some disarray. Johnston had died from a mortal wound; his replacement, Beauregard was battling illness and spent, mistakenly confident the battle had already been decided—that the Federals were not in position for an effective response. The 15th Mississippi had been fighting for 12 straight hours, and as night fell, Mecklin expressed his relief: "Long had I looked for the kind hand of darkness to lay its peaceing hand upon this savage conflict."

Mecklin would survive the next day's fighting in what became a remarkable Federal victory. He also survived his army's miserable retreat to Corinth and the subsequent 31-day siege of the city. But Shiloh tarnished his soul. He resigned from the Confederate Army later that year and returned to ministry, never fully coming to grips with the whirlwind he and his comrades had encountered in the Tennessee wilderness.

At 5 a.m. April 7th, 1862, Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace's wayward 3rd Division lined up on the right as part of Grant's planned counterattack. Wallace become lost trying to reach the battlefield the day before and arrived too late to figure in the fighting. George Rogers, the 25-year-old captain of the 20th Ohio's Company A, rode ahead of his men as the attack lurched forward. A veteran of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's 1861 campaigning in western Virginia he was not quite prepared for what lay ahead. Meandering to the left, the 20th came upon Colonel Preston Pond's Louisianans in Braxton Bragg's Second Corps secluded along with Captain William Ketchum's Alabama Battery



BUCKEYES

Three of Captain John Rogers' fellow company officers from the 20th Ohio. Company officers, captains and lieutenants, endured most of the same hardships and horrors as did the privates and NCOs whom they led.

in Jones Field. Muskets began to rattle and, while urging his men on, Rogers glanced at the enemy lines. He saw an excited Confederate officer, flag in hand, desperately rallying his wavering lines. Rogers suspected it was Beauregard himself, but it was most likely Pond.

A few days later, Rodgers wrote of his contact with Pond's "Creole" brigade: "Our brigade came by a beautiful and rapid movement upon a heavy battery of the enemy's, supported by a brigade of Creoles commanded by Beauregard in person, who—with flag in hand at the head of the brigade—was endeavoring to rally his forces for a final effort to retrieve his lost fortunes."

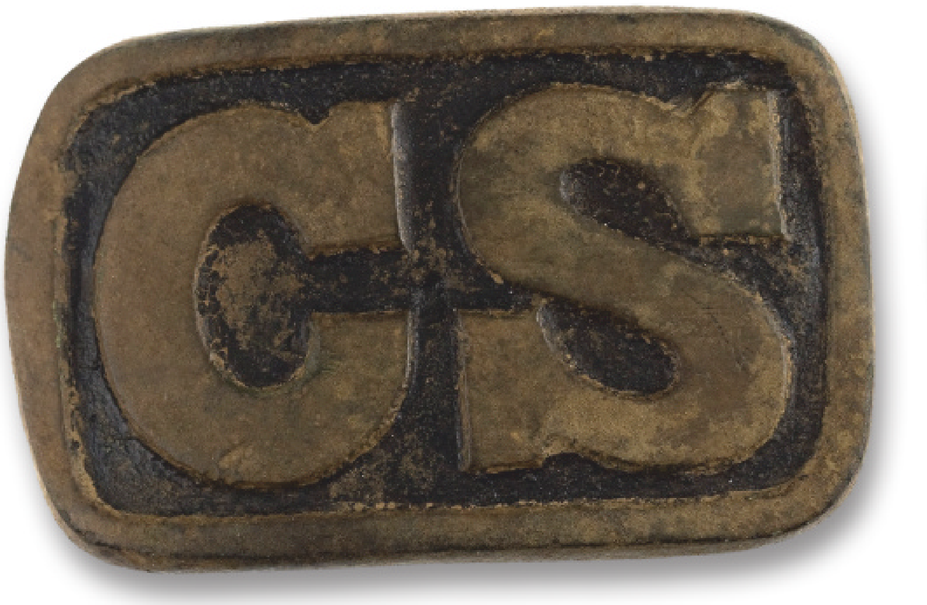
Rogers and the 20th Ohio moved cautiously into Jones Field. The enemy forces would exchange volleys for the next three hours. Eventually, Wallace's division picked up speed mid-morning and rushed over Pond's disheveled brigade. The Ohioans pitched into the fleeing Confederates. As Rogers guided his lines, he was distracted by the strange actions of one shaken officer, "weeping like a child" at the sight of his mutilated mount. Mercifully, the officer unloaded six shots into the dying animal. "That scene," Rogers lamented, "…remains the most vividly painted in my memory of all those I saw on that memorable day."

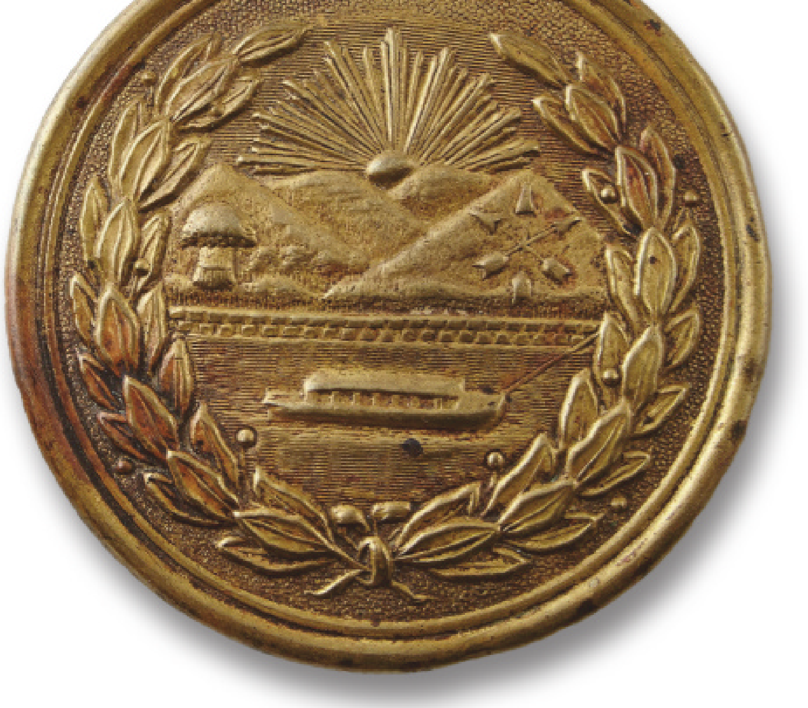
By 4 p.m., the exhausted and severely bloodied Confederate army began its staggered retreat to Mississippi. Making the situation more dire was an intense rainstorm that turned the roads into a nearly impassible quagmire. Fortunately for the severely wounded, volunteer nurses scrambled from surrounding Confederate states to assist in any possible way. As the fighting raged on April 7, Alabamian Kate Cumming heard of the massive fight and boarded a train from Mobile, Ala., to Okolona, Miss., and from there to Corinth. Cumming observed trains loaded with grievously sick and wounded heading into the opposite direction and recorded on April 8: "It is raining in torrents. Nature Seems to have donned her most somber garb, and to be weeping in anguish for the loss of so many of her nobelist [*sic*] sons."

Shiloh's aftershock quickly expanded to towns and settlements in Tennessee and Mississippi. Corinth instantaneously felt the blow. Fortunately, Kate Cumming and many civilian volunteers were there to help. She had arrived on April 11, towing a heavy heart because her two brothers—one in Ketchum's Alabama Battery, the other in the 21st Alabama Infantry—had possibly been killed during the battle. While in transit from Okolona, Cumming wrote in her diary: "There is a report that Captain Ketchum is killed, and all of his men are either killed or captured; the Twenty-First Alabama Regiment has been cut to

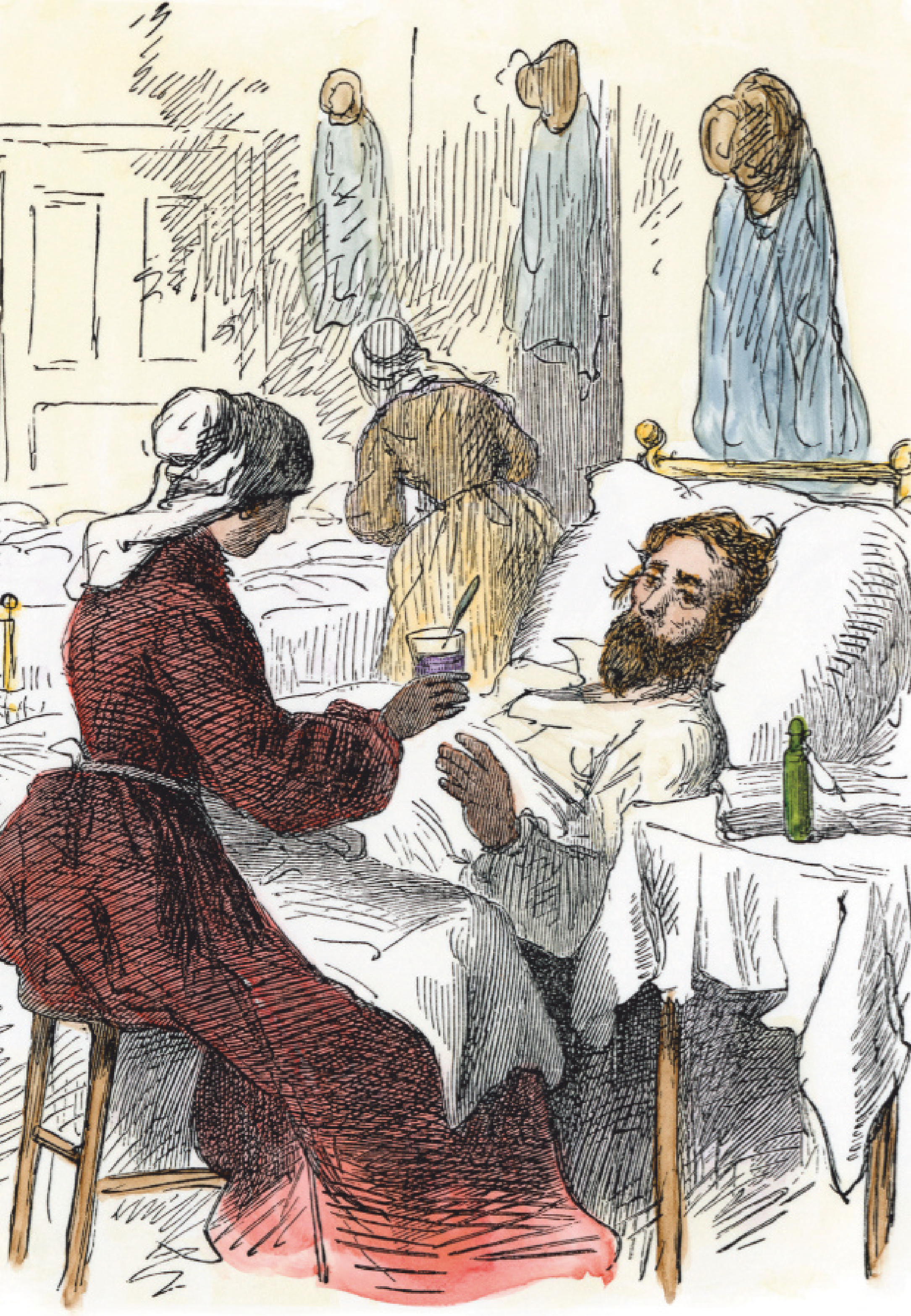
BRASS REMINDERS OF BATTLE

The Confederate belt plate, marked "CS" for Confederate States, was found near Corinth. Early in the war, Ohio issued some of its regiments unique cartridge-box breast plates adorned with the state seal. A few have been unearthed in the vicinity of Shiloh.





LARRY STRAYER COLLECTION; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS (2)



VOLUNTEER CAREGIVER
Kate Cumming, above, hurried to Corinth to tend to Confederate wounded. Other women did as well, but the situation was so bad only Cumming and another woman stayed on after a week. Her 1866 book, *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee*, is an invaluable resource and makes fascinating reading.

NPS PHOTO: NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

pieces. I was never more wretched in my life! I can see nothing before me but my slaughtered brother, and the bleeding and mangled forms of his dying comrades."

With uncertainty on her mind, Cumming kept busy nursing the sick and wounded. On April 12, she "sat up all night, bathing the men's wounds, and giving them water. Everyone attending to them seemed completely worn out." The afflicted soldiers seemed crammed into every crevasse: "The men are lying all over the house, on their blankets, just as they were brought from the battle-field. They are in the hall, on the gallery, and crowded into very small rooms."

It was the scent of war, however, that disturbed her most: "The foul air from this mass of human beings at first made me giddy and sick, but soon I got over it." Yet she remained and Corinth's atmosphere of suffering only intensified with time. A week later, desensitized somewhat, Cumming wrote about a soldier knowing "he will die.'"

"A young man whom I have been attending is going to have his arm cut off!" she recorded on April 23. "Poor fellow! I am doing all I can to cheer him. He says he knows he will die, as all who have limbs amputated in this hospital have died."

Her senses dulled by stress and the sight of human suffering, Kate Cumming concurred with the doomed boy: "It is but too true; such is the case."

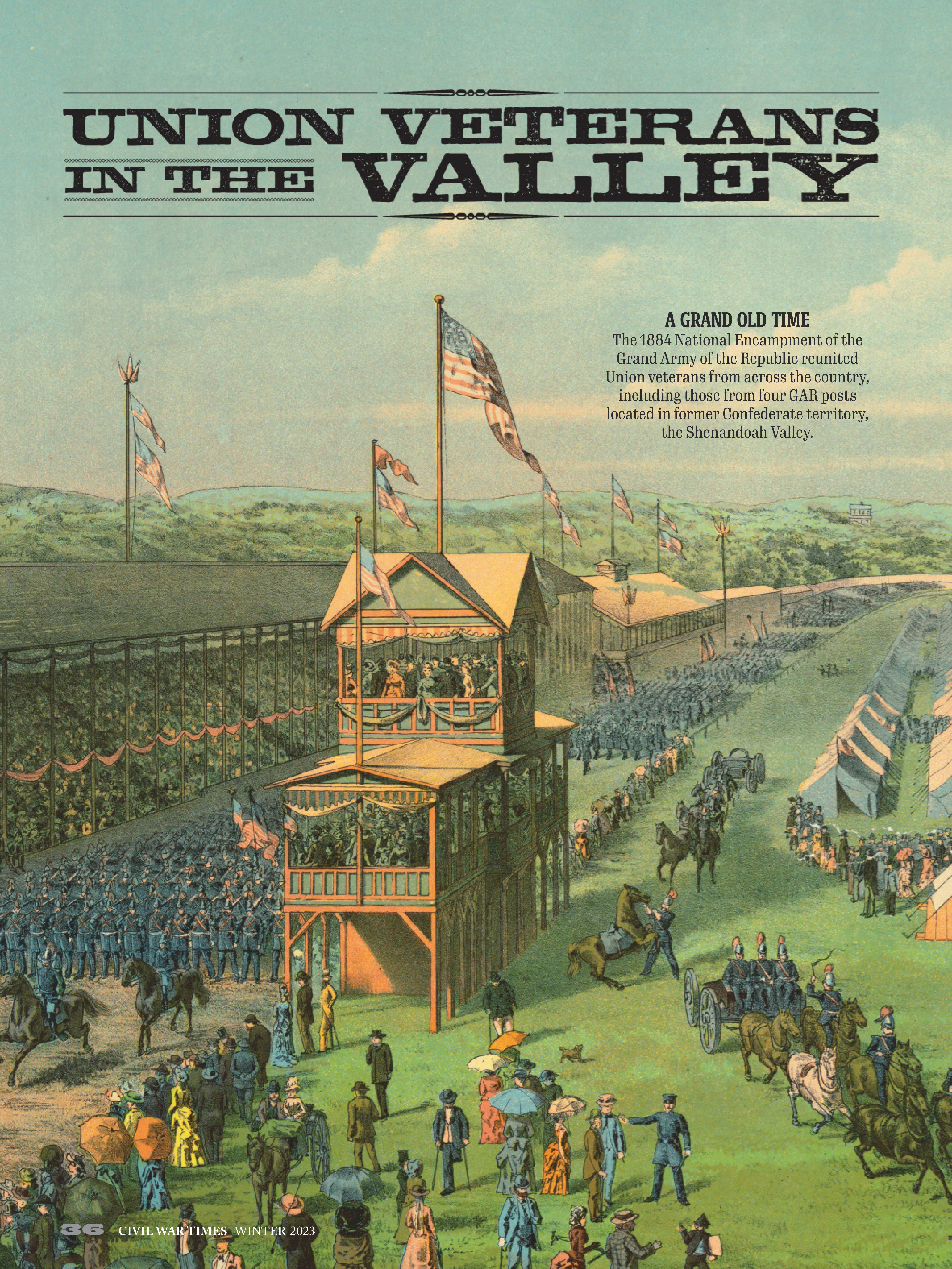
For the thousands of victims of Shiloh who sought refuge behind the entrenchments of Corinth, a true challenge of survival approached in the form of climate. The month of May brought excessive heat and dryness, and severe illness incapacitated entire units. Potable water was almost nonexistent, and many soldiers lapped liquid out of stagnated puddles and swamps. The lumbering Union army finally reached the outskirts of Corinth during the last week of April, and Corinth's desperate inhabitants again braced for the relentless horrors of war.

Shoup, Mecklin, Rogers, and Cumming all converged at Corinth, but the ghosts of Shiloh followed. Though they all survived the war, vivid memories of Shiloh haunted them the rest of their lives.

* * *

After working as a concrete mason for 15 years, Trace Brusco changed career paths and is currently a Ph.D. student at the University of Alabama, where he studies military history. His current project focuses on Corinth, Miss., and how the Civil War impacted northeastern Mississippi.

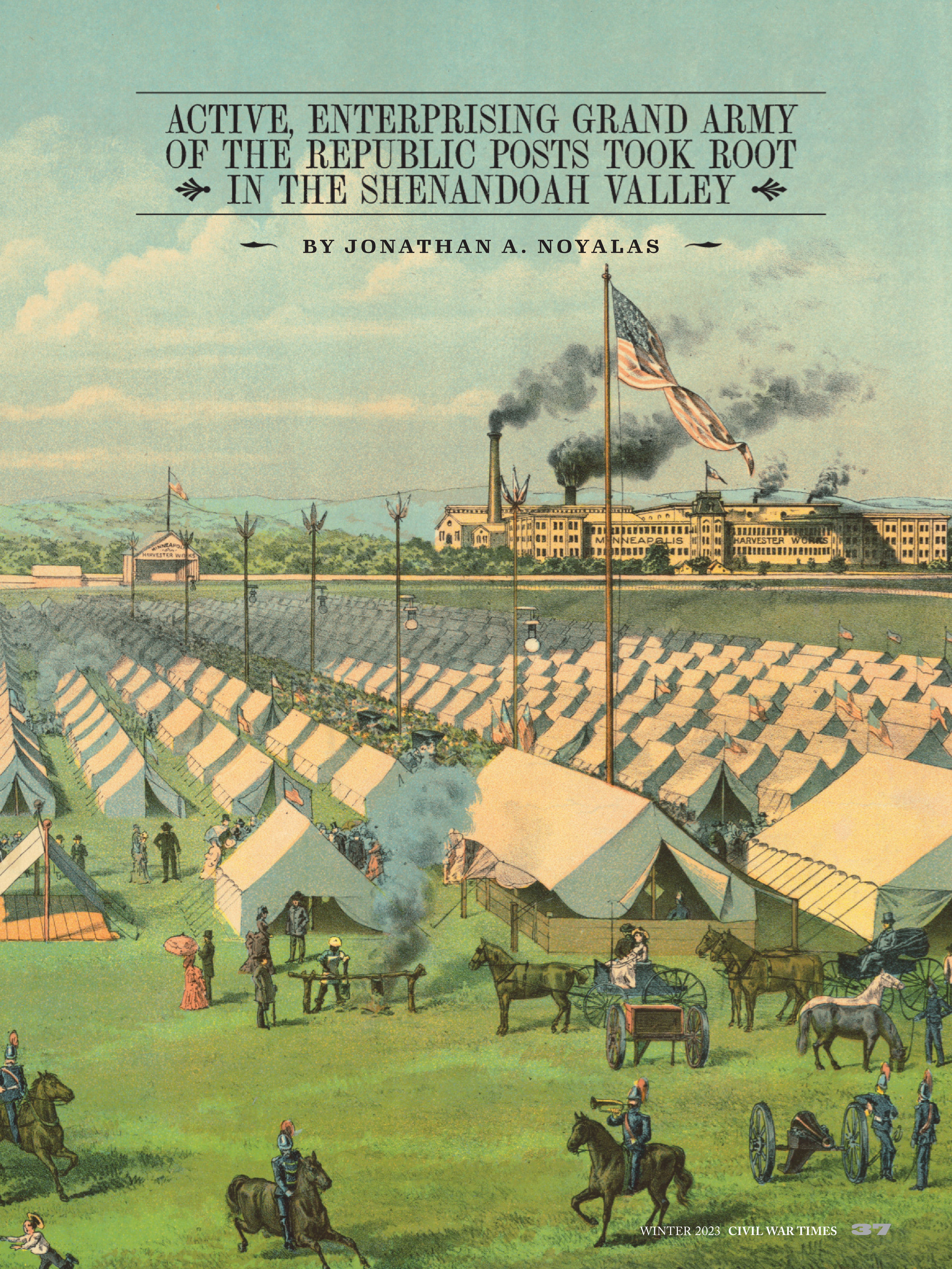
UNION VETERANS IN THE VALLEY



A GRAND OLD TIME
The 1884 National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic reunited Union veterans from across the country, including those from four GAR posts located in former Confederate territory, the Shenandoah Valley.

ACTIVE, ENTERPRISING GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC POSTS TOOK ROOT IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

BY JONATHAN A. NOYALAS


MINNEAPOLIS HARVESTER WORKS
MINNEAPOLIS HARVESTER WORKS

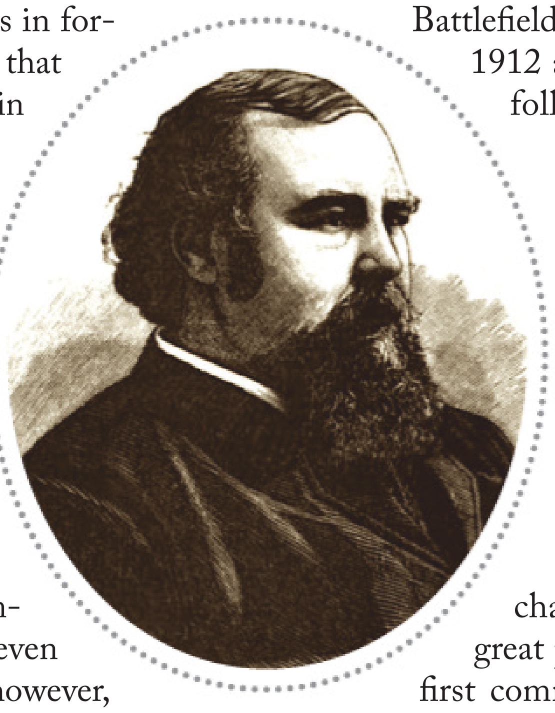
In the spring of 1883, Erastus G. Bartlett, a veteran of the 12th West Virginia Infantry and assistant inspector general for the Grand Army of the Republic's (GAR) Department of West Virginia, submitted his annual report to John W. Burst, the GAR's inspector general. Bartlett, a resident of Martinsburg, W.V., saw not only steady growth throughout the department, but also a significant decline in the animus among former Confederates toward the establishment of GAR posts throughout the state and in neighboring Virginia. "New Posts are springing up in different parts of the Department, and old Posts, many of them, are increasing in numbers… The comrades of this Department," Bartlett explained, "like those of the Department of Virginia, have about outlived the odium placed upon them by the FFV [First Families of Virginia] who were in or sympathized with those who fought for the 'lost cause' and consider the GAR a good order," Bartlett explained to Burst.

While Bartlett viewed some positive developments in former Confederates' attitudes toward the GAR by 1883, that was not so following the organization's establishment in 1866. Those who once supported the Confederacy looked askance at the GAR and thought it organized solely "for political purposes."

Distrustful that the GAR's principles of charity, fraternity, and loyalty served as a cover for, as historian Stuart McConnell wrote, "a Radical front group," the life of most GAR posts in the South established in the late 1860s-early 1870s was short-lived. For example, the GAR claimed 35 members in Tennessee in 1871. Six years later, it reported zero. Virginia, the former Confederate state with the largest GAR membership, boasted 387 members in 1871. That number declined precipitously seven years later to 184. The GAR's decline in the South, however, proved temporary. By the early 1880s membership in the GAR enjoyed a resurgence as an increasing number of Union veterans moved South to enjoy "the economic opportunities of the New South" and "a milder climate." The increase made Union veterans residing in the South believe, as historian Wallace Davies concluded, that they were "strong enough numerically and sufficiently accepted socially to attempt to infuse new life into the moribund Grand Army of the Republic."

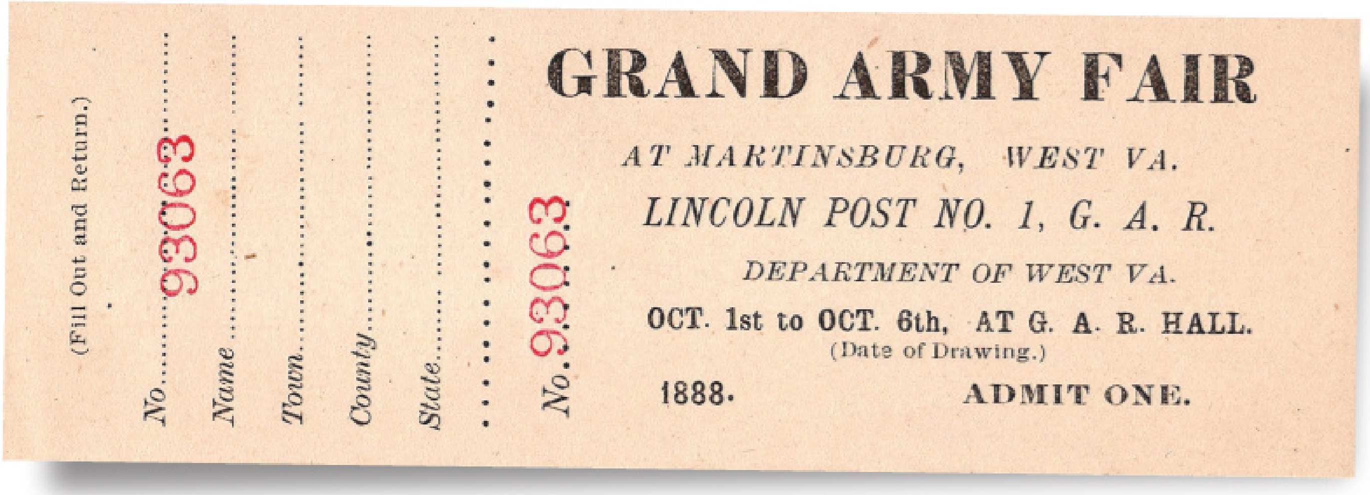
Efforts to "infuse new life" into the GAR in the Shenandoah Valley began in autumn of 1880 when Henry V. Daniels, a veteran of the 4th New Jersey Infantry and the U.S. Army's Quartermaster Department who lived in Harpers Ferry, and William H.H. Flick, a veteran of the 41st Ohio Infantry wounded at Shiloh and a prominent political figure in West Virginia who resided in Martinsburg, established the first GAR post in the Valley, Lincoln Post No. 1 in Martinsburg. Daniels and Flick proved important in the creation of the first GAR post in the Shenandoah Valley, and in the re-establishment of the GAR in West Virginia that reported zero members since 1871, the year the department "was formally declared disbanded." Flick served as the Department of West Virginia's first commander and Daniels as assistant adjutant-general.

Soon after the Lincoln Post's establishment, Colonel Joseph Thoburn Post No. 2 formed in Harpers Ferry under the 33-year-old George W. Graham, a veteran of the 144th New York Infantry. Graham, perhaps best-known for his brief stint as superintendent of Antietam National Battlefield Site that began in the summer of 1912 and ended with his dismissal the following spring owing to a long chain of abuses of authority, took great pride in not only being the post's first commander, but the youngest GAR post commander in the nation. In addition, Graham reveled that his post "was located within 500 feet of John Brown's Fort at Harpers Ferry—where the war of 1861-65 virtually commenced—and eight miles from the battlefield of Antietam."



STARTING A TREND
William H.H. Flick, left, served in the 41st Ohio Infantry during the war and moved to Martinsburg, W.Va., after the conflict. In 1880, he co-founded the first GAR post in the Shenandoah Valley.

By the spring of 1888 four GAR posts existed in the Shenandoah Valley. In addition to Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry, posts were established in Berkeley Springs, W.Va., and Winchester, Va. While unclear as to the precise date of the formation of the George D. Summers Post No. 13 in Berkeley Springs, it is mentioned



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Name

Town

County

State

No. 93063

GRAND ARMY FAIR

AT MARTINSBURG, WEST VA.

LINCOLN POST NO. 1, G. A. R.

DEPARTMENT OF WEST VA.

OCT. 1st to OCT. 6th, AT G. A. R. HALL.

(Date of Drawing.)

1888. ADMIT ONE.

ADMIT ONE
A ticket to the Lincoln Post's "Grand Army Fair" held in Martinsburg in 1888. Such events featured displays and talks related to the war.

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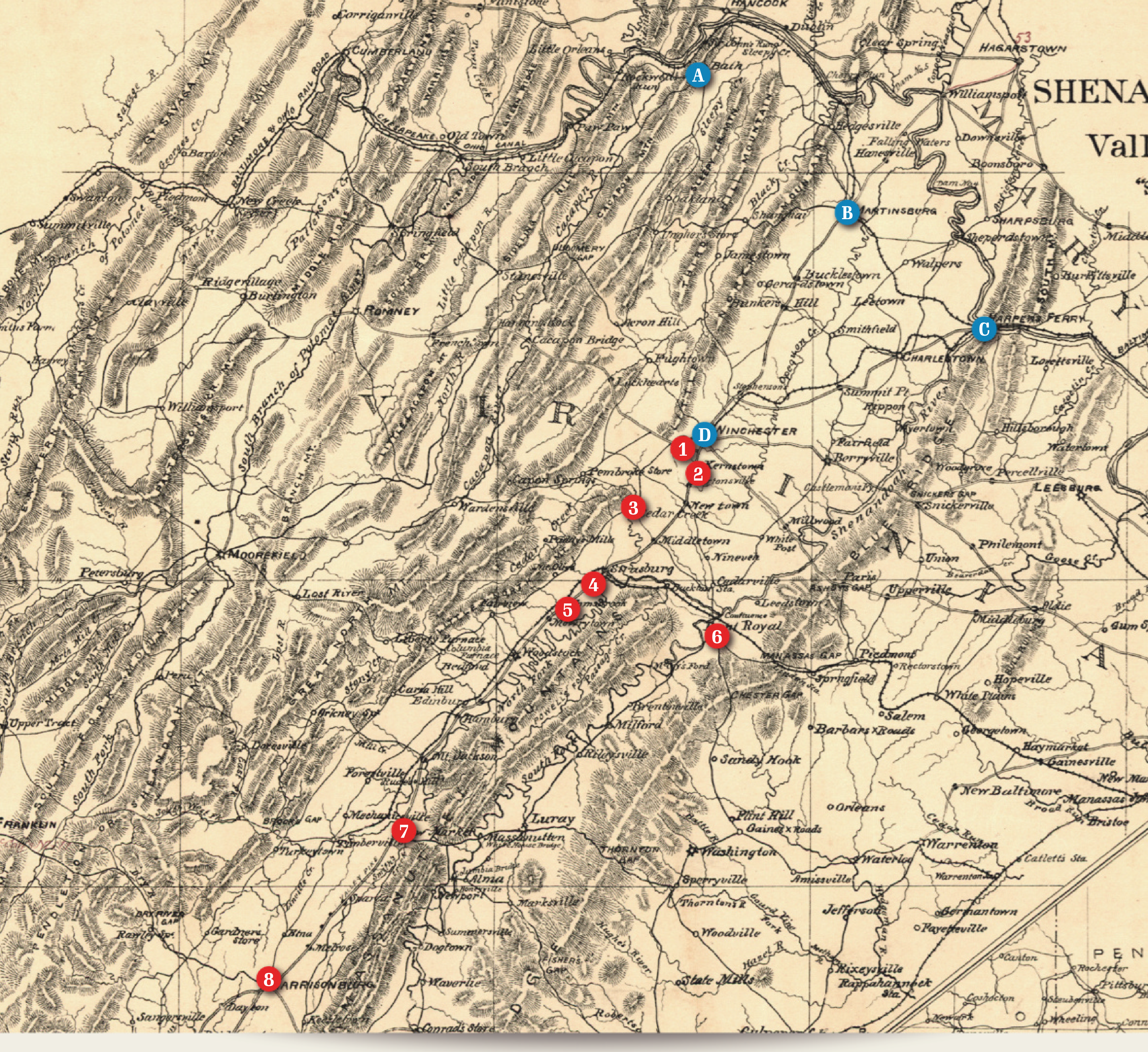
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Middletown
Strasburg
Front Royal
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Warrenton
Washington
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TRAMPLED BY WAR

Battles large and small occurred in the Shenandoah Valley, despoiling portions of the rich farmland known as the "granary of the Confederacy," and this map indicates just a few of them. Valley residents grew sick of war. On August 17, 1864, Winchester resident and Confederate sympathizer Mary Greenhow Lee "went down to the parlor windows entirely in dishabille to enjoy my favorite sight—the retreat of the enemy." Lee likely would not have approved of the postwar U.S. advance into the lower Valley that saw four Grand Army of the Republic posts take root in the region, one in her hometown.

GAR POSTS, 1888

A Berkeley Springs, W.Va.
Summers Post No. 13

B Martinsburg, W.Va.
Lincoln Post No. 1

C Harpers Ferry, W.Va.
Thoburn Post No. 2

D Winchester, Va.
Mulligan Post No. 30

NOTABLE BATTLES, 1862-64

1 Winchester
Three battles, 1862-1864

2 Kernstown
March 23, 1862 & July 24, 1864

3 Cedar Creek
Oct. 19, 1864

4 Fisher's Hill
Sept. 21, 1864

5 Tom's Brook
Oct. 9, 1864

6 Front Royal
May 23, 1862 & Aug. 16, 1864

7 New Market
May 15, 1864

8 Harrisonburg
June 6, 1862

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
1861 VETERAN 1866
MULLIGAN
POST NO. 30
MEMORIAL DAY
1910

HONORED COMMANDER
Colonel John Mulligan, above, was mortally wounded at the Second Battle of Kernstown in 1864. He also built a fort that bears his name and remains in Petersburg, W.Va. This ribbon was worn by members of the Mulligan Post on Memorial Day in 1910.

as early as June 1883, Winchester's Mulligan Post No. 30, named in honor of Union Colonel James Mulligan, mortally wounded during the Second Battle of Kernstown, was established on May 17, 1888.

Although small in number, with 20 members at the time of its founding, the Mulligan Post grew out of a desire to assist Winchester's Ladies National Memorial Association, organized on June 17, 1887, care for the graves of the nearly 4,500 Union dead buried in the Winchester National Cemetery. Dedicated on April 8, 1866, but not officially deeded to the U.S. government until four years later, the Winchester National Cemetery had become by the 1880s, in the estimation of Edmund M. Houston, one of the Mulligan Post's charter members, "sadly neglected, from the lack of loyal sympathy of the citizens" of Winchester.

Houston, a veteran of the 143rd New York Infantry who worked as a harness maker in Winchester after the conflict, believed that the GAR's members from across the nation and the states whose dead rested in the cemetery should bear the financial responsibility in caring for the graves. Houston implored his comrades and the GAR's leadership in the pages of the *National Tribune* for the "necessary appropriations… either by the National Encampment… or by the several Departments of different States." The native New Yorker challenged the Empire State to "furnish her quota of recognitions" for the more than 700 New York soldiers buried in the cemetery.

Determined to improve the cemetery to "a similar condition to Antietam and Gettysburg cemeteries," the Mulligan Post invited representatives from various GAR posts from Pennsylvania's Cumberland Valley to visit Winchester and view firsthand the cemetery's deplorable situation. Delegations from posts in Mechanicsburg, Carlisle, Newville, Shippensburg, Chambersburg, and Fayetteville visited Winchester on March 18, 1890. The delegation agreed that the cemetery's condition was dreadful. Particularly appalling was its lack of sufficient space. The Pennsylvanians believed that the cemetery should be expanded beyond its approximately five acres so that it could "receive the dead found along the lines where they fought, as well as those who desire to be buried there after death." While the Mulligan Post and the delegation hoped "that the matter will receive the speedy attention that its importance deserves," support came slowly.

Two years after the Pennsylvanians' visit, Houston continued petitions for assistance. Slightly more than one month prior to Memorial Day in 1892 Houston again appealed to his comrades in *The National Tribune*. "A murmur passes through the comrades of Mulligan Post 30, in the historic Shenandoah Valley: How can we better observe Memorial Day? With our few in number the burden of responsibility upon us in the South is a tax more than we feel able to assume," Houston wrote. Although pleased that "some of the departments contributed last year flags for decoration," Houston seethed that "in the main most remain quiet or deaf to the appeals from the mounds where underneath lie those who shared their hardships."

Notwithstanding the limited support the Mulligan Post received in its efforts, its membership, which evidence indicates never rose above 24 despite 82 Union veterans residing in Winchester and Frederick County, Va., at the time of the 1890 Veterans Census, never shirked its responsibilities in honoring the Union dead as long as at least one member of the Mulligan Post was alive. By 1925 the Mulligan Post reported only two members, with only one physically able to preside over the Memorial Day ceremony in the National Cemetery—Joseph H. Bean. Born in Frederick County, Va., in 1841, Bean served in the 87th Ohio Infantry during the Civil War. Hailed as "one of the comparatively few Virginians who served in the Union army," Bean died four years later, the "last member of the Mulligan Post."

Beyond its commitment to the Union dead in the Winchester National Cemetery, the Mulligan Post always aided various regimental associations in the decades after the conflict commemorate fallen comrades in the Shenandoah Valley and beyond. In September 1888, slightly more than one year after its creation, the Mulligan Post welcomed veterans from the 3rd Massachusetts Cavalry for the dedication of a regimental monument in Winchester's National Cemetery. The Mulligan Post's hospitality and support for the dedication, which included six-year old Carrie Houston, daughter of commander Edmond Houston, "crown[ing] the monument with flowers," so impressed the Massachusetts veterans that they eventually presented Houston with "a handsomely ornamented and mounted" belt and sword engraved…Commander E.M. Houston, Winchester, Va., from the Third Massachusetts Cavalry."

CHRONICLE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO; WINCHESTER-FREDERICK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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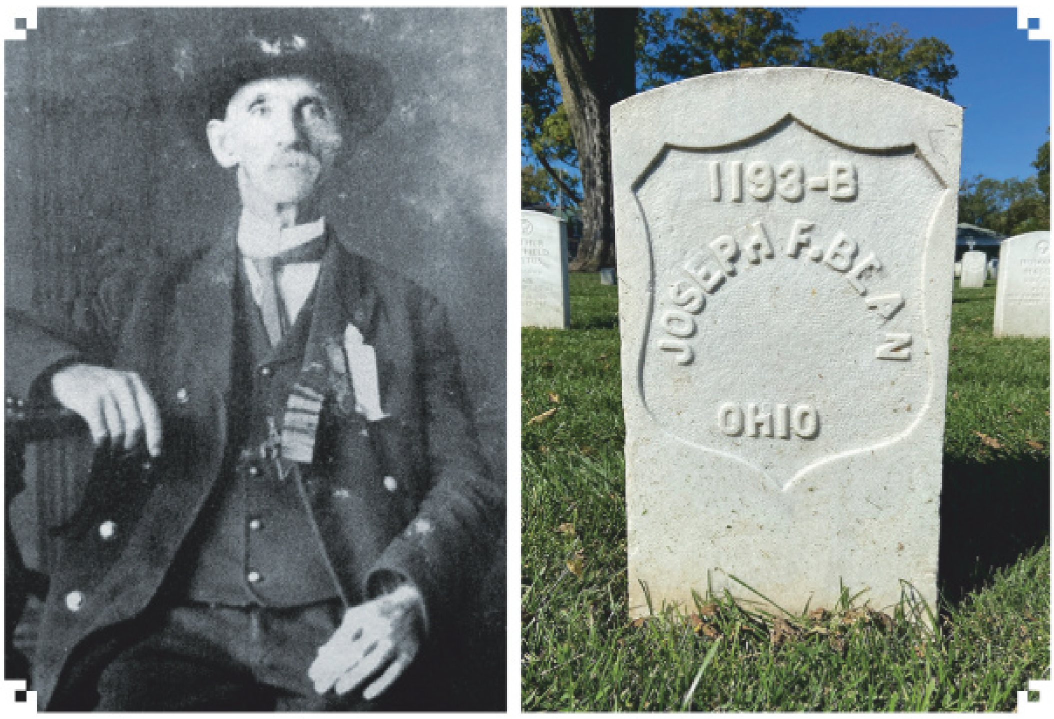


MR. BEAN OF THE MULLIGAN POST
Joseph Bean was born in Virginia, but went to war with the 87th Ohio Infantry. He served as the Mulligan Post's adjutant for many years, and was the last surviving member of the post, dying in 1929. He is buried in the Winchester National Cemetery, grave 1193-B.

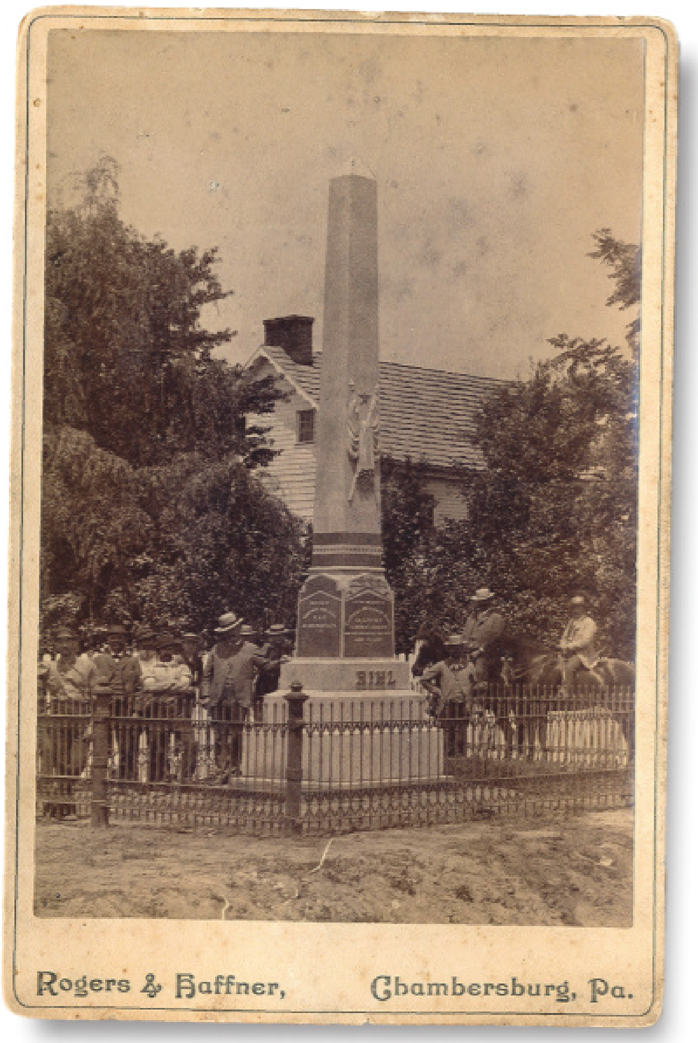
Other groups of Union veterans took notice of the Mulligan Post's efforts. Following a visit with Union veterans in Chambersburg, Pa., a reporter for *The Franklin Repository* penned in praise: "Down in Virginia around Winchester there are not a great many Grand Army men but those who are there are the most enthusiastically people we run across."

In addition to honoring the Union dead, the Valley's GAR posts, as they had throughout the nation, performed a critical role in celebrating national holidays and promoting American patriotism. Sometimes these posts assumed the commemorative burden without aid from other local organizations. For example, the responsibilities of celebrating Independence Day in Martinsburg in 1883 fell squarely on the Lincoln Post. The post's members organized a parade and fireworks. "Martinsburg is one of the few places in the state where anything like a patriotic celebration of Independence Day will take place to-day. There will be a public parade, public speaking, fireworks, etc., under the auspices of Lincoln Post No. 1… Flags and bunting will be liberally displayed," a newspaper correspondent wrote in praise of the post's efforts.

The Valley's GAR posts also ventured beyond the Shenandoah to lend support to various commemorative activities. For example, on June 22, 1887, members of the Lincoln Post journeyed to Greencastle, Pa., to assist in the dedication of a monument to Corporal William H. Rihl, a veteran of the First New York Lincoln Cavalry, who became, on June 22, 1863, the first Union soldier killed in action on Pennsylvania soil. Nine years later members of the Lincoln Post joined "many soldiers from far and near" at the dedication of the monument to the Philadelphia Brigade at Antietam, where the Lincoln Post frequently participated in various memorial events.

The Lincoln Post's support of ceremonies at Antietam also helps bring some perspective to how GAR members from the Valley interacted with veterans of United States Colored Troop regiments (USCT). While records do not indicate whether or not the GAR Posts in the Valley were integrated, existing sources illustrate that, at a minimum, members participated in ceremonies with USCT veterans. For example, in 1889 and 1890 a contingent of Martinsburg's and Harpers Ferry's GAR posts participated in Memorial Day ceremonies at Antietam National Cemetery that included members of Lyon Post No. 31—an all African American post from Hagerstown, Md. Although a seemingly simple act, participation in this ceremony illustrated, particularly at a time when various GAR posts in the South made commemorative activities "a white-only affair," that members of these Shenandoah Valley posts chose to not forget the service and sacrifice of their African American comrades.

The Valley's GAR Posts also interacted with Confederate veterans in various ways—most notably in shared memorial ceremonies in cemeteries. On June 6, 1882, Confederate Memorial Day in Martinsburg, members of the Lincoln Post joined Confederate veterans and placed "flowers upon Confederate graves." Winchester's Mulligan Post engaged in similar acts. Following the dedication of the 3rd Massachusetts Cavalry monument in the Winchester National Cemetery in September 1888 the Union veterans marched to the Stonewall Confederate Cemetery, separated from the national cemetery by a narrow lane, and gathered around the monument to the unknown Confederate dead. The Mulli-



JUST OVER THE STATE LINE
Lincoln Post members helped dedicate this monument near Greencastle, Pa., that honors Corporal William Rihl of a New York cavalry regiment, the first Union soldier killed during the Gettysburg Campaign on June 23, 1863.

STEWART BELL JR. ARCHIVES, HANDLEY REGIONAL LIBRARY, WINCHESTER, VA; PHOTO BY JONATHAN NOYALAS; THE HORSE SOLDIER

gan Post's chaplain offered a prayer while the post's members and Massachusetts veterans knelt "around the mound to the unknown dead, then… deposited the flowers and wreaths." The practice of Union veterans visiting Confederate graves, offering prayers for the dead, and strewing flowers was something in which all Union veterans' organizations that visited the Shenandoah Valley in the postwar era engaged. For example, members of the Sheridan's Veterans Association visited the Stonewall Confederate Cemetery when they first visited the Shenandoah Valley in September 1883 and performed the act once more when the group returned two years later.

The Valley's GAR members interacted with Confederate veterans in other ways. For example, in September 1898, members of Winchester's Mulligan Post and the Turner Ashby Camp of Confederate Veterans joined together for the funeral of a Spanish American War veteran, Corporal John R. Steele, a 22-year-old native of Winchester who died from typhoid at Camp Cuba Libre in Jacksonville, Fla. Earlier that spring, on Memorial Day, undoubtedly fueled by the patriotism sweeping the nation as a result of the Spanish-American War, members of Martinsburg's Lincoln Post and area Confederate veterans marched to the "graves of the deceased soldiers" and "liberally bestowed [them] with flowers."

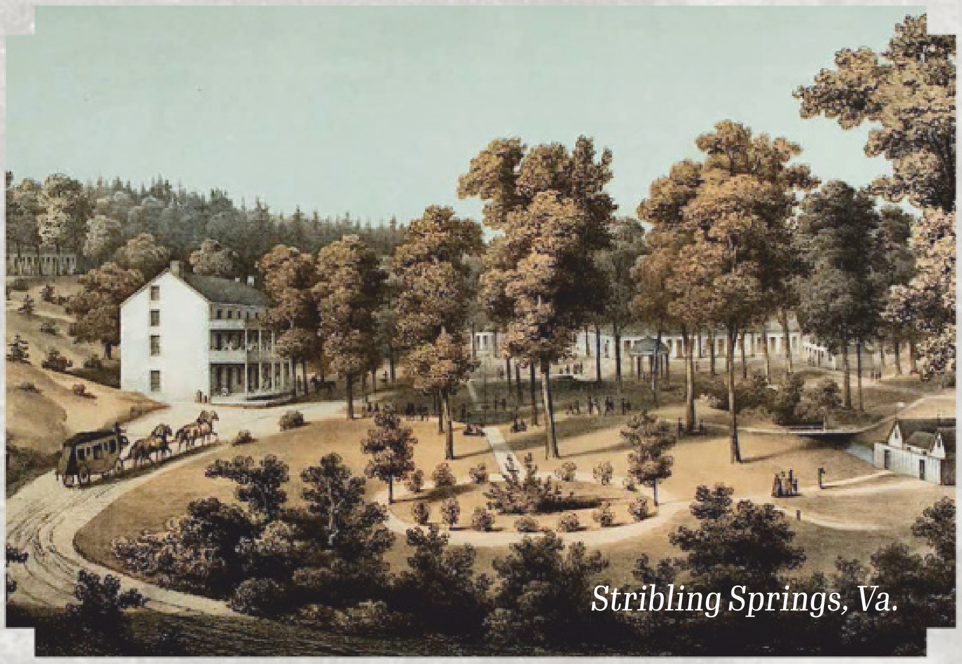
Twenty-six years later John Burkholder, a native of Lancaster, Pa., who served in the 130th Pennsylvania Infantry, and moved to Frederick County, Va., shortly after the war's conclusion, and one of the Mulligan Post's last surviving members, sat on a float with Confederate veteran George Washington Kurtz during Winchester's annual Apple Blossom Parade. The scene of these two veterans riding on a float emblematic of reunion in 1924 was, according to a newspaper correspondent covering the parade, "much admired by all."

While evidence illustrates that members of the GAR in the Shenandoah Valley engaged in reunion activities with Confederate veterans typical of other GAR posts in the South, it did not mean that the relationship was always harmonious. Several weeks prior to Memorial Day in 1892 the Mulligan Post's commander, Walter A. Davidson, who served as a captain in the 71st New York Infantry and suffered wounds at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, extended an

☛ **FINAL RESTING PLACES**

Winchester, Va., is the home of the Winchester National Cemetery, and Stonewall Confederate Cemetery. Go to the link below to see images of solemn monuments and graves. *historynet.com/winchestercemeteries*

A VALLEY VET RESORT?


Stribling Springs, Va.

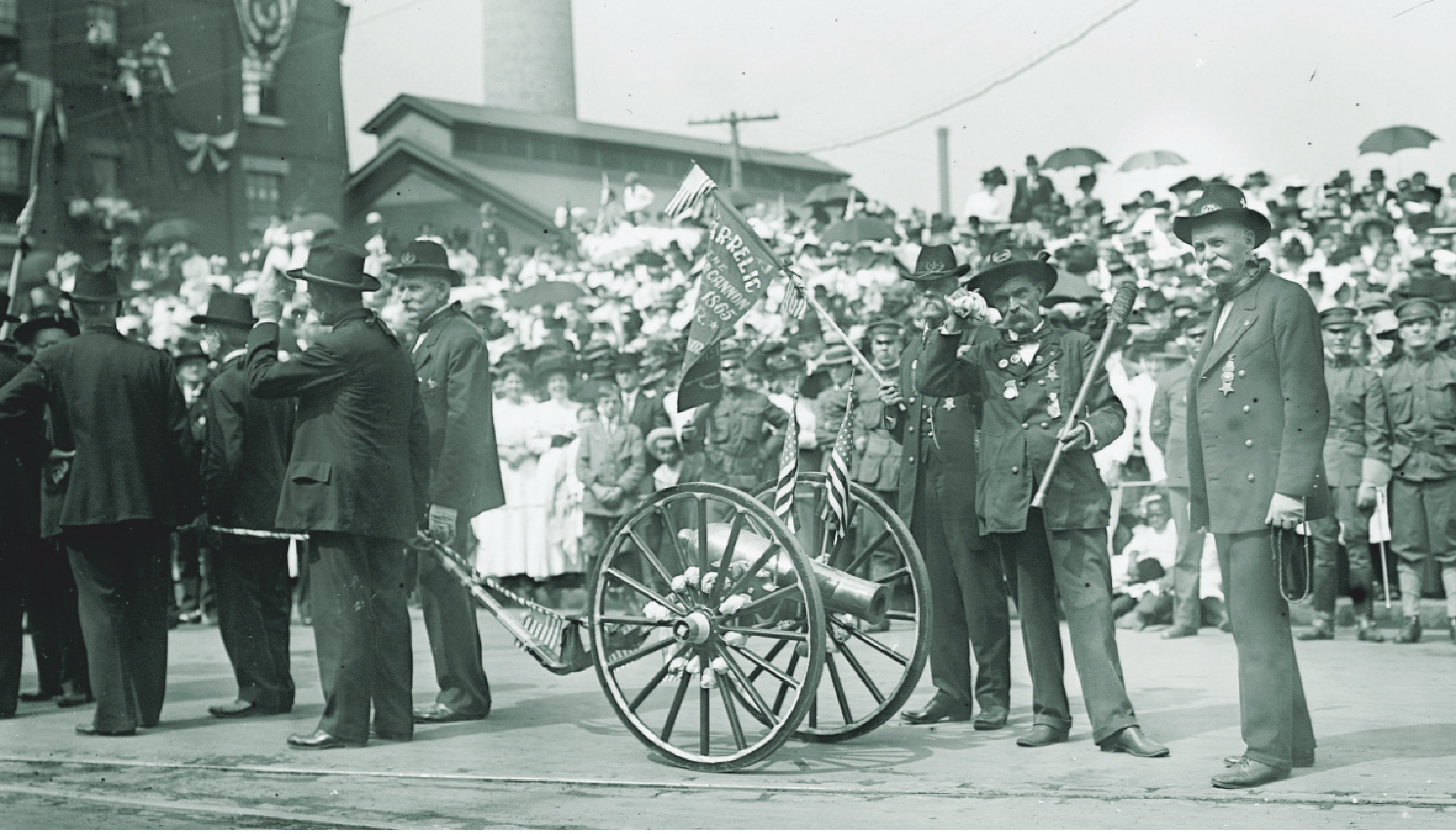
ALBUM OF VIRGINIA

While the GAR's members in the Shenandoah Valley committed themselves to honoring the memory of fallen brothers, some also thought of establishing "a permanent colony of GAR veterans" somewhere in the Valley. Inspired by the colony established by Philander Fitzgerald in Georgia in 1895, which comprised 100,000 acres, members of Winchester's Mulligan Post purchased Stribling Springs in Augusta County, Va., in 1897.

Established in 1817 by Erasmus Stribling, Stribling Springs boasted "one of the most beautiful health resorts in the United States." When the resort, which the *Staunton Spectator and Vindicator* reported, consisted of "about 30 cottages, a hotel, barns and other outhouses, a number of mineral springs and 2,000 acres of land" was offered for sale in 1897 various members of the Mulligan Post, including Edmund Houston, organized a "stock company" under the "auspices of Mulligan Post No. 30" and purchased the property for $100,000. Mulligan Post members promised "a sanitarium, with seven physicians, a tannery, a creamery, a planning mill, handle and stave factory." As the Union veterans hoped to attract "2,500 to 3,000 people" newspapers from Pennsylvania to Kansas blared with headlines "Colony for the GAR Stribling Springs Property Will be Converted into a Village."

Despite the Mulligan Post's lofty ambitions, the GAR colony at Stribling Springs never met expectations. Three years after the *Staunton Spectator and Vindicator* announced the Mulligan Post's desire to create a colony, Mark Hanna, a wealthy businessman and U.S. senator from Ohio, purchased the property from the veterans.

While the scant evidence that exists about the failed endeavor doesn't explicitly mention the Mulligan Post's desire to open up the colony to settlement to Confederate veterans or use it as a locale to engage in activities of postwar healing with former foes, newspaper coverage of the colony's establishment frequently referenced the veterans' desire to "establish a permanent colony of GAR veterans similar to that at Fitzgerald, Georgia." Promises of emulating Fitzgerald, a colony which included Union and Confederate veterans who lived on streets named after Union and Confederate generals, might suggest the Mulligan Post's wish to do the same in Stribling Springs. *—J.A.N.*



NO NAPOLEON
GAR veterans pose during a 1910 parade with a small cannon that was designed to elicit smiles from a crowd rather than strike fear into a Confederate battle line. As the 19th century turned to the 20th century, however, tensions did rise between the GAR and Confederate veteran organizations.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

invitation to Charles W. McVicar, commander of Winchester's Turner Ashby Camp of Confederate Veterans, for "the members of the Ashby Camp to aid [the] Mulligan Post… in the performance of our duties in the observance of Decoration Day at the National Cemetery." McVicar, who served in R. Preston Chew's Battery during the Civil War, declined the invitation because of the GAR's statement six months earlier about the public display of Confederate flags.

On November 4, 1891, the GAR's commander-in-chief, John Palmer, issued General Order 4, which prohibited any member "wearing badge and uniform of the order" to "march under anything that has the semblance of a Confederate flag." Palmer believed participating in events with the Confederate flag betrayed the memory of Union soldiers who died during the conflict.

While Palmer never questioned the "right" of the GAR's members "to mingle with the men against whom you fought," participating in events with Confederate flags went "against the terms of surrender" and should be viewed as "an act of hostility against the government of the United States." Palmer also believed the public display of the Confederate flag would continue to "arouse a feeling of animosity or revenge."

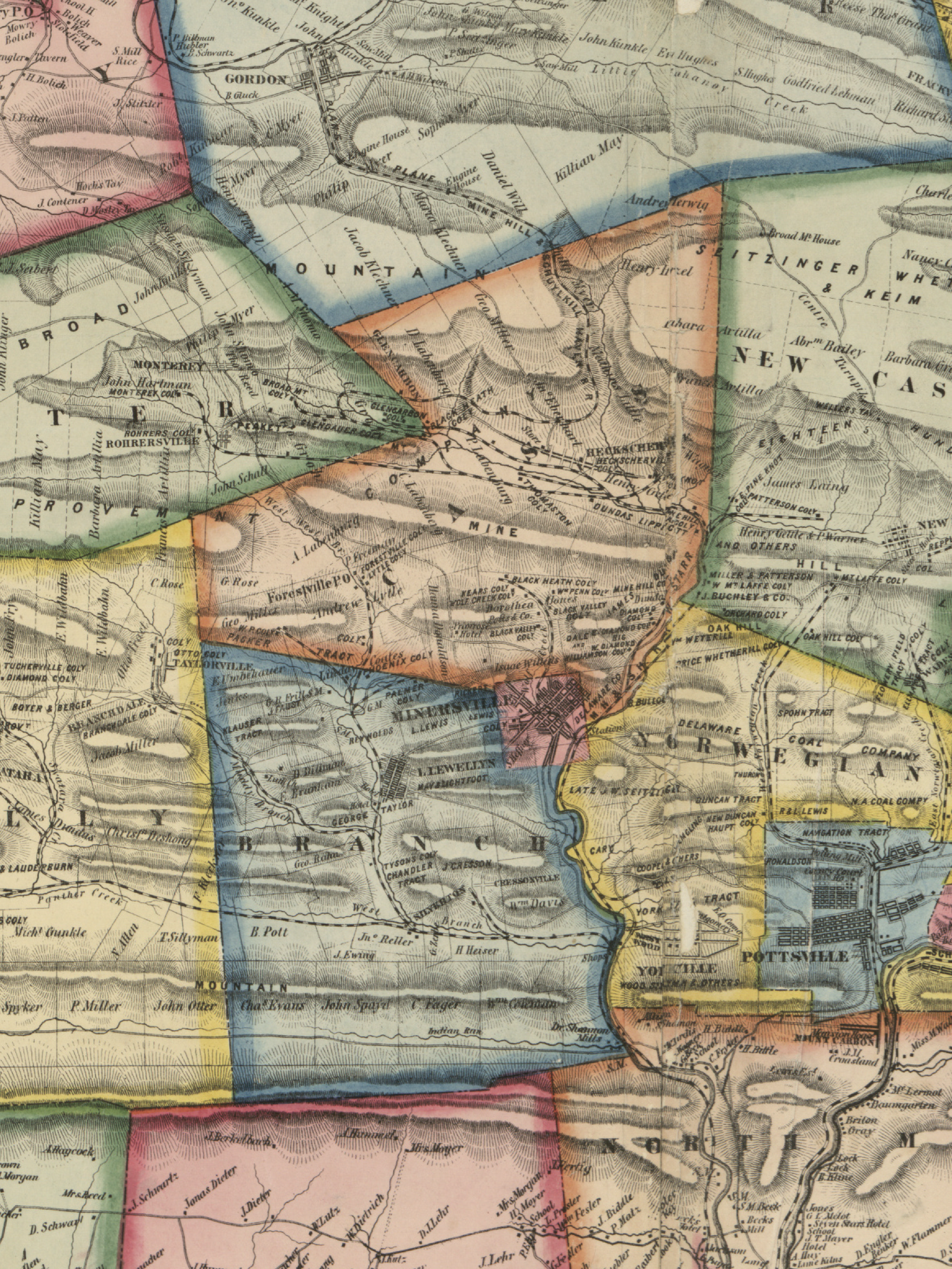
Bothered by the GAR's views on "anything that has the semblance of a Confederate flag," McVicar refused Davidson's invitation. The Ashby Camp commander, while he informed Davidson he would "urge the members of the Camp, in their individual capacities, to be present," McVicar would not allow his members to officially participate in the observance. McVicar explained that Confederate veterans did not bring out the Confederate flag as "only as the ever to be honoured emblem of the memories we cherish."

In 1900, tensions rose once more following the Confederate veterans' condemnation of the GAR's stance that school textbooks used throughout the South taught "false history" about the Civil War and promoted "unpatriotic ideas in the youth of the land." Offended by being labeled "brave fools or rash traitors," Winchester's Confederate veterans lambasted "the Grand Army of the Republic…[for] a vicious attack upon our Southern School Histories."

The tensions that existed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries between the GAR's members in the Valley and Confederate veterans, juxtaposed with the various positive interactions the groups had with each other during the same period, illustrates that the GAR's members in the Shenandoah Valley navigated a complex world. At times it appeared an environment where, as a member of the Mulligan Post reflected, "the burden" seemed "more than… able to assume." While they fraternized with former foes and engaged in activities aimed at healing the conflict's deep wounds, commitment to honoring comrades and, as one GAR member explained, saving "the Union and the stars and stripes from dishonor," always stood at the forefront of the Valley's GAR posts' mission.

* * *

Jonathan A. Noyalas is director of Shenandoah University's McCormick Civil War Institute. Slavery and Freedom in the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War Era *(University Press of Florida, 2021), is his most recent book.*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THOMASTON COLY
DUNDAS LIPPICOTT
MINE
MINE HILL & SCHUYLKILL
PLANE
Engine House
Little Mahanoy Creek
SEITZINGER WHET & KEIM
NEW CAS
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Broad Mt House
Centre Turnpike
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HILL
MILLER & PATTERSON
MT LAFFE COLY
J. BUCHLEY & CO.
ORCHARD COLY
OAK HILL
OAK HILL COL
Forestville P.O.
FORESTVILLE COLY
LYTLE COLY
BLACK HEATH COLY
Wm PENN COLY
MINE HILL CO
BLACK VALLEY COLY
DIAMOND COLY
WOLF CREEK COLY
PACKER TRACT
PHOENIX COLY
TAYLORVILLE
OTTO COLY
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PALMER COLY
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KLAUSER TRACT
REYNOLDS
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TYSONS COLY
CHANDLER TRACT
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DELAWARE COAL COMPANY
SPOHN TRACT
PRICE WHETHERILL COLY
LATE J & W SEITZINGER
DUNCAN TRACT
NEW DUNCAN
HAUPT COLY
N.A. COAL COMPY
R & L LEWIS
NAVIGATION TRACT
RONALDSON
CARY
COOPER & OTHERS
YORK TRACT
POTTSVILLE
YORKVILLE
MOUNTAIN
Indian Run
Dr. Shannon Mills
MOUNT CARBON
NORTH M
Becks Mill
Seven Stars Hotel
School
Kilian May
John Kunkle
Eli Hughes
Godfried Lehman
Andrew Herwig
Henry Irzel
Abr m Bailey
James Laing
B. Pott
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J. Ewing
H. Heiser
T. Sillyman
Spyker
P. Miller
John Otter
Chas Evans
John Spayd
C. Fager
Wm Coleman
H. Biddle
J. M. Crossland
Baumgarten
Briton Bray
J. Berkelbach
J. Hammer
Mrs. Moyer
A. Haycock
J. Schwartz
Jonas Dieter
J. Dieter
D. Schwar
W. Lutz
W. Dietrich
D. I. Lehr
J. Lehr
J. Biddle
P. Matz
S. M. Beck
W. Flammer

HOMEFRONT TURMOIL

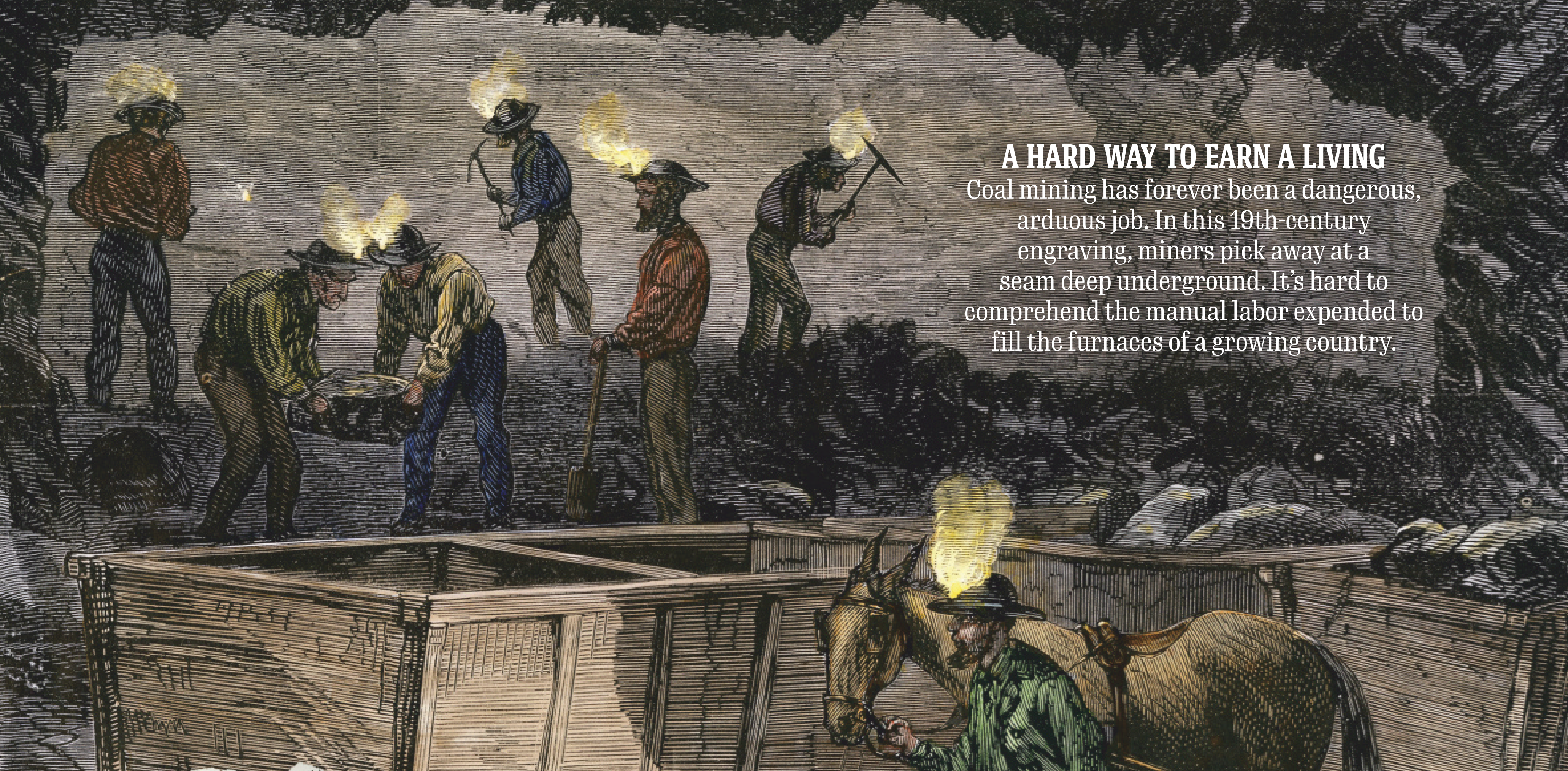
A TOXIC MIX OF ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-ABOLITION SENTIMENT LED TO THE NORTH'S FIRST RIOTS

BY JAKE WYNN

The surging mass of armed men stopped the train full of Union recruits and herded the passengers out of their cars. The bold move occurred in Pennsylvania, sending shock waves across the Keystone State. Governor Andrew Curtin dashed off a telegram to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton alerting him of the "formidable" hostile presence in his state. But Curtain wasn't concerned about Confederate troops during the Gettysburg Campaign; it was October 1862 and he was fretting about one of the first concerted efforts by Northerners to oppose the Union's war effort during the war, a series of riots that took place on the western edge of Schuylkill County in Pennsylvania's turbulent coal region. These small-scale riots lasting less than a week proved to be a harbinger of much bloodier, more violent uprisings against the draft in 1863.

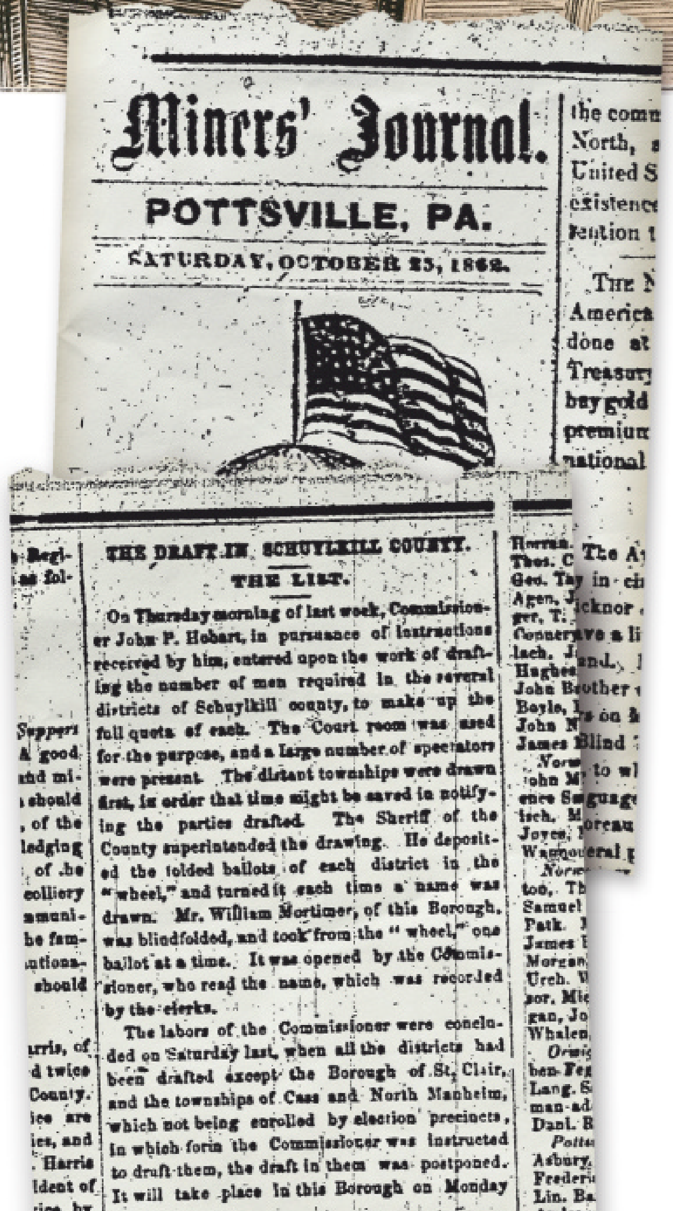
In late October 1862, Irish mineworkers from the county's mining districts took up arms against the state and federal government and the prospect of a draft to fill the ranks of a U.S. Army depleted by bloody campaigns in the summer of 1862. Resistance to the war effort came most strongly from Cass Township, a community northwest of Minersville in Schuylkill County. The township had been named for Lewis Cass, the 1848 Democratic nominee for president, and the district, which supported a number of the county's most prosperous anthracite coal mines, raged with zeal for radical Democratic politics. These beliefs led residents in the region to support anti-war, anti-abolition stances that would later be associated with a poisonous snake by political opponents—Copperheads. In October 1862, these ideals were inflamed further by a hard-fought congressional election campaign in addition to the fears of a draft.

BIG TROUBLE, SMALL SPOT
Cass Township, Pa., is bordered by orange on the map at left. Today, Interstate 81 skirts along the northwestern border of the tiny bit of Pennsylvania in the middle of coal country that was a hotbed of anti-draft anger.



A HARD WAY TO EARN A LIVING

Coal mining has forever been a dangerous, arduous job. In this 19th-century engraving, miners pick away at a seam deep underground. It's hard to comprehend the manual labor expended to fill the furnaces of a growing country.



Miners' Journal.

POTTSVILLE, PA.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1862.

THE DRAFT IN SCHUYLKILL COUNTY.

THE LIST.

On Thursday morning of last week, Commissioner John P. Hobart, in pursuance of instructions received by him, entered upon the work of drafting the number of men required in the several districts of Schuylkill county, to make up the full quota of each. The Court room was used for the purpose, and a large number of spectators were present. The distant townships were drawn first, in order that time might be saved in notifying the parties drafted. The Sheriff of the County superintended the drawing. He deposited the folded ballots of each district in the "wheel," and turned it each time a name was drawn. Mr. William Mortimer, of this Borough, was blindfolded, and took from the "wheel," one ballot at a time. It was opened by the Commissioner, who read the name, which was recorded by the clerks.

The labors of the Commissioner were concluded on Saturday last, when all the districts had been drafted except the Borough of St. Clair, and the townships of Cass and North Manheim, which not being enrolled by election precincts, in which form the Commissioner was instructed to draft them, the draft in them was postponed. It will take place in this Borough on Monday next.

The whole number enrolled in this County, was 13,199, of which at the time of the draft 4080

TROUBLE BREWING

Pottsville was just a few miles to the east of Cass Township, and the seat of Schulykill County. Since 1829, the Yuengling Brewery in Pottsville has produced beer that helped ease the aches and pains of battered miners.

"The threat of imminent conscription and the heated election campaign exacerbated long-standing class, ethnic, and political tensions in Cass and the surrounding coal regions," writes historian Grace Palladino in her book, *Another Civil War: Labor, Capital, and the State in the Anthracite Regions of Pennsylvania, 1840–1868*. These tensions came to a head in a showdown between miners and the federal government in the autumn of 1862.

"The riot disease seems chronic in Cass Township," wrote the *Miners' Journal* of Pottsville, in a review of events published on October 25, 1862. "The people of Cass became excited and early this week, went colliery to colliery, stopping the operations, compelling the men to join them, until they mustered together several hundred armed men."

With work in the collieries north of Minersville at a standstill, these miners began a campaign to stanch efforts by the state government to muster troops from Schuylkill County. The workers organized themselves and prepared to consolidate their efforts across western Schuylkill County.

"The head-quarters of the disaffected appear to be at Heckshherville," recorded a correspondent familiar with events in Schuylkill County. On October 22, Bishop James F. Wood of the Philadelphia Archdiocese arrived in Pottsville to utilize Catholic political sway in the Irish districts to quell riotous behavior. His arrival ultimately helped play a role in easing the tensions in coal regions, but not before significant escalation by mineworkers in Cass Township.

In Heckshherville, organizers appeared to enact a multi-prong strategy for their protest. Representatives were sent to neighboring districts in order to stop work and add to the numbers of armed men. Others were sent west toward the mining village of Tremont in order to stop trains filled with recruits for the Union Army. These men would also act as reconnaissance for the movement. "Miners stationed boys along the railroad lines to give notice of the approach of any troops," wrote the correspondent in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

In Tremont, the rebellious miners were successful in their initial efforts. "At Tremont, some 500 of them, well armed, stopped a train as it was leaving," wrote the editors of the *Miners' Journal*. "They ordered the [recruits]

PREVIOUS SPREAD: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; THIS PAGE: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

to get out, and said that those who wanted to go, could; but that those who did not want to go might remain, and that [the miners] might protect them."

Miners from Cass Township and neighboring New Castle Township also sought to raise miners from the neighboring regions to join their cause. "On Friday evening [October 24] a committee went to Ashland from the lower part of the county and made an attempt to swear the miners not to labor on Saturday," recorded the *Inquirer*. "The effort was not successful."

In addition to the setback at Ashland, events took a sad turn at New Castle Township when an armed miner accidentally discharged his rifle and killed another miner. A writer blamed either "the excitement of the moment or the influence of strong drink" for the shooting.

It was the bold act at Tremont that raised alarms in Harrisburg, the state capital. Governor Curtin learned of events in western Schuylkill County on October 23. He dashed off a quick telegram to Secretary of War Stanton in Washington, D.C., that afternoon:

> Notwithstanding the usual exaggerations, I think the organization to resist the draft in Schuylkill, Luzerne, and Carbon counties is very formidable. There are several thousands in arms, and the people who will not join have been driven from the county. They will not permit the drafted men, who are willing, to leave, and yesterday forced them to get out of the cars. I wish to crush the resistance so effectually that the like will not occur again. One thousand regulars would be most efficient, and I suggest that one be ordered from the army....
>
> Let me hear immediately.

Stanton responded affirmatively, stating that Curtin could use Federal troops to quell the riots in the coal region. Getting those soldiers, however, was a different matter. Referrals for troops from Maj. Gen. John Wool in Baltimore initially came back negatively, for he had none to spare.

A flurry of cables flashed between Harrisburg and Washington from October 23-25 as the situation developed in Schuylkill County. Curtin's urgent pleas for troops finally pushed the secretary to take action. "The General Government will exert all means at its command to support you," he wrote. But he could not send the 1,000 U.S. Army Regulars asked for by the Keystone State's chief executive. Instead, he promised the services of the Anderson Cavalry and an additional regiment with some combat experience.

Wool arrived in Harrisburg on October 24. He cabled Washington with his plans to assist the governor in putting down the rebellion in the coal region. "I have ordered a section of artillery to report to [Curtin] without delay, with ammunition," he wrote, "and put an infantry regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers, now on the Northern Central Railroad, subject to his call at any moment."

"THE RIOT DISEASE SEEMS CHRONIC IN CASS TOWNSHIP"

—*Miners' Journal,* **Pottsville, Pa.**

According to Representative Alexander K. McClure, an infantry regiment arrived in Pottsville to put down the riots north and west of the city. No orders were given to these troops, however, and they held fast in the Schuylkill County seat. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* pegged this on the advantages held by those in the mining districts. "It would have been utterly impossible, under any circumstances, for soldiers to have either captured or conquered the men who were so well informed of the secrets of every mountain pass and valley," their correspondent wrote.

By the 24th, the rebellion in the coal region had begun to abate. The

WE MUST HAVE ORDER

Pennsylvania Governor Andrew Curtin, left was one of Abraham Lincoln's staunchest supporters, and was anxious to suppress draft unrest. Major General John Wool, a well-respected and long-serving Army officer ordered troops to the region at Curtin's request.

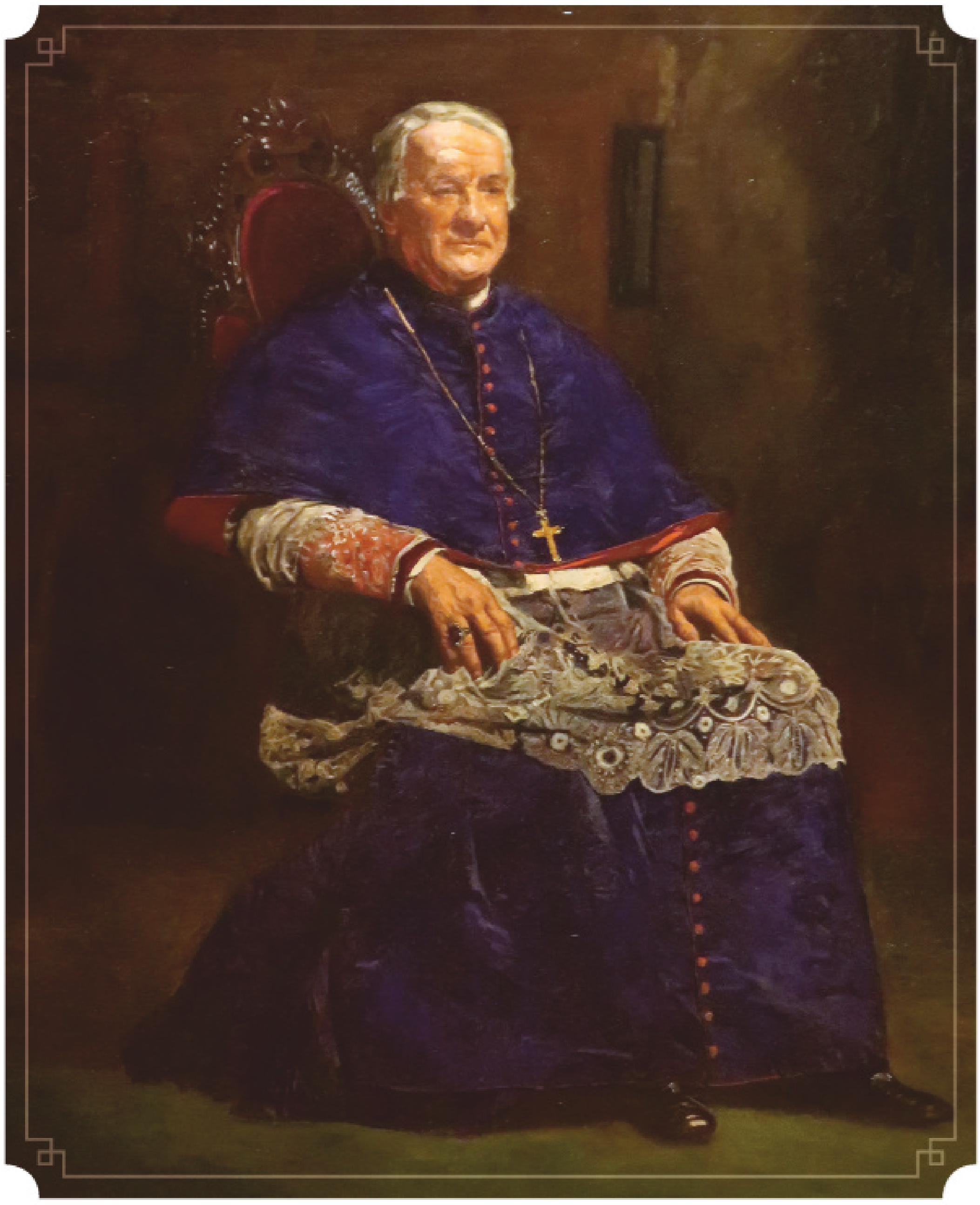
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (2)

IN THE RANKS
Some coal miners fought the draft, but others fought Confederates. This ID disc belonged to Charles Bunton, a 22-year-old miner who enlisted in the 155th Pennsylvania Infantry and served in the biggest battles of the Eastern Theater.

actions of Bishop Wood of Philadelphia played a major role according to those on the scene. He called together religious leaders from across Schuylkill County and encouraged them to talk down the riotous miners and bring them back from the brink of violence. In Tremont, the *Inquirer* reported, a local priest explained "the necessity of preserving the Union and enforcing the Laws."

> He went in the midst of the crowd and illustrated some of his remarks in such a forcible manner that one or two of the would-be rioters, who were disposed to be insolent, were overawed....[T]he clergy received instruction to preach on Sunday upon the evils of resisting the constituted authorities of the land, and it was understood that the threat of excommunication was to be used against those who were still determined to be troublesome.

Observers felt that winning the Catholic leadership to the side of the government in this matter proved tremendously successful and calmed tensions in Cass Township and surrounding communities. By October 25, the drama in western Schuylkill County drew to a close. "The riots in Schuylkill County have ceased for the present," Curtin cabled Washington that afternoon. In a note telegraphed on October 27, he confirmed the end of the rebellion and thanked Bishop Wood, "who kindly went up [from Philadelphia] when requested, and relieved us all."



CATHOLIC CALMING EFFECT
Bishop James Frederick Wood of the Philadelphia Archdiocese traveled to Pottsville to meet with local religious leaders and enlist them in the effort to calm the leaders of the draft unrest. His presence did have an impact on the heavily Catholic miners, and helped end the riots.

The anti-conscription activities of miners in Schuylkill County ceased for the moment, but this was far from the last violence in the southern coal region. McClure saw the rebellion in a wider context when he looked back while writing a memoir of his time in Pennsylvania politics in 1905. "In several of the mining districts there were positive indications of revolutionary disloyalty," he wrote, "and it was especially manifested in Schuylkill, where the Molly Maguires were then in the zenith of their power."

In the coal region, the subsequent decade saw continued unrest, with blame placed on the so-called "Molly Maguires." This alleged band of Irish conspirators were blamed for violence throughout the anthracite coal fields into the 1870s. Whether or not an organized group actually existed continues to be hotly debated today. However, what is indisputable is that violence in the coal fields surged starting in October 1862 and continued in the decade that followed.

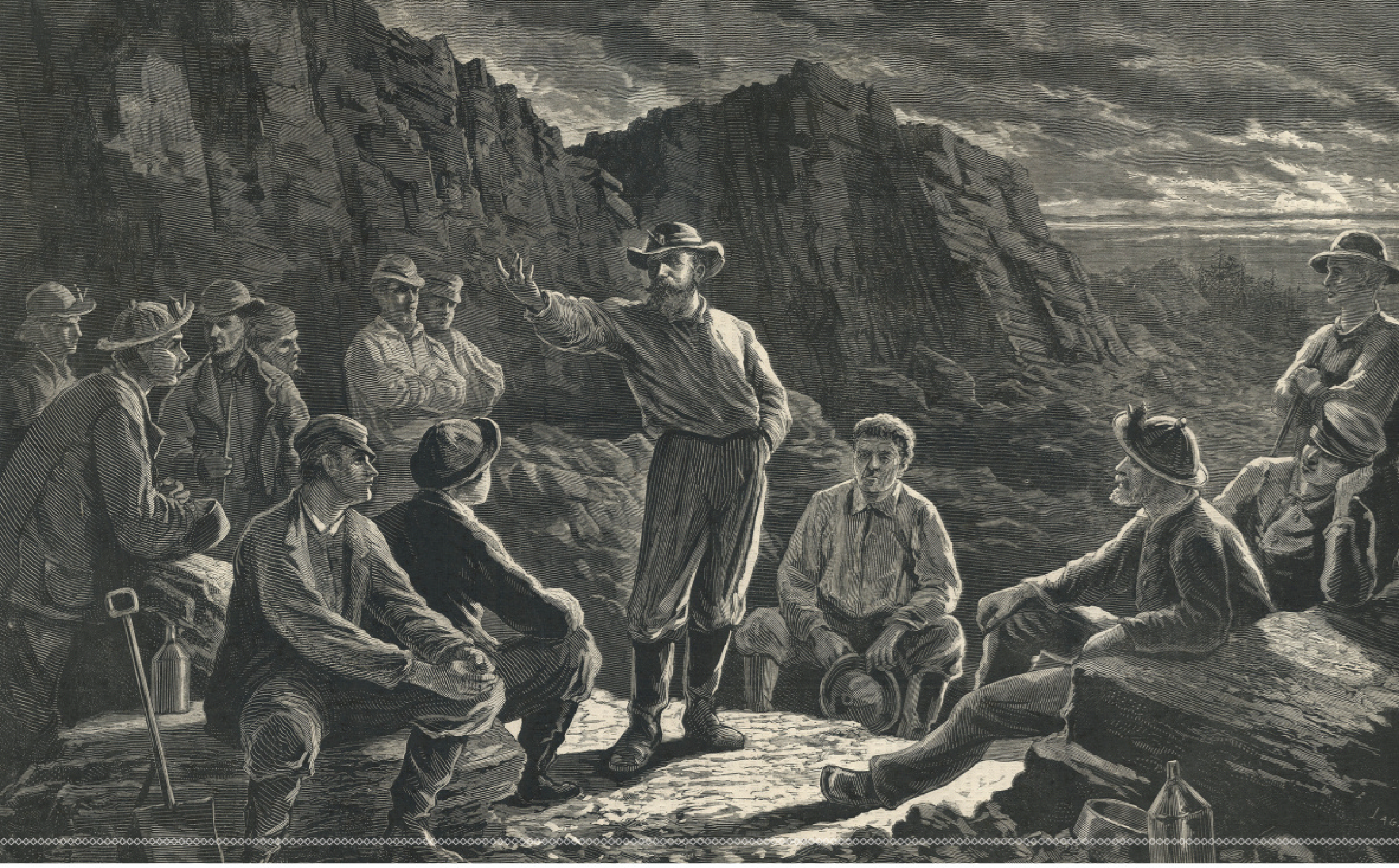
The 1862 unrest shares similarities with other outbreaks of anti-conscription violence that occurred in the North during the Civil War.

The most famous of those outbreaks came in July 1863 in New York City, when draft riots by working class immigrants leveled significant portions of the city, caused millions of dollars in destruction, and resulted in the deaths of more than 100 people in America's largest city.

In the coal region, Republicans blamed Democratic politicians for the violence in October 1862. "The men who are really responsible for these troubles are the leaders in this Region, of the Sham Democracy," opined the *Miners' Journal*, "and we shall never be free from difficulty until these men lose their influence for mischief, over the mass of our workingmen."

But racial and ethnic undertones were also present. *The Gettysburg Compiler*, a Democratic newspaper in Adams County, copied a note

HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS; CRYSTAL BRIDGES MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART



LABOR UNION
The Cass Township riots did not end unrest in Pennsylvania's coal country. This image depicts "Molly Maguires," members of a secret society that used numerous methods, including violence, to obtain rights for miners, meeting on a lonely mountaintop in 1874.

HARPER'S WEEKLY

from a similarly minded Schuylkill County press in November 1862 under the headline "CONTRABANDS TO BE SENT TO THE COAL REGIONS."

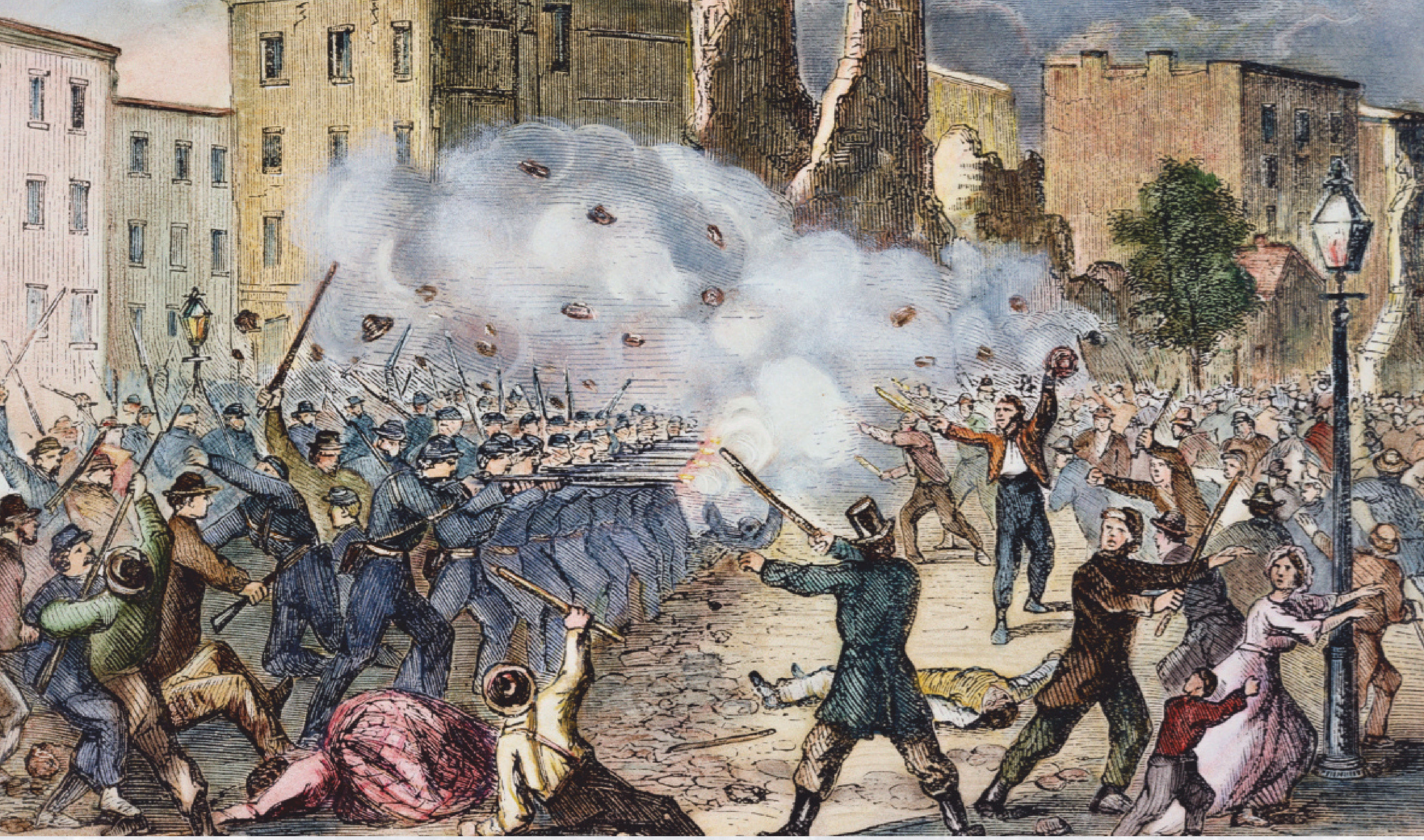
> We can tell the President of the United States, and his Abolition advisers, that they must keep their Negroes out of the coal regions, unless they desire to inaugurate civil war in the North.
>
> The people of this section of the State will not allow emancipated slaves to be thrown into competition with white labor.
>
> The statements that there is a scarcity of workman in the coal mines of Pennsylvania has no foundation in truth so far as Schuylkill County is concerned, and has only been gotten up by the Abolitionists to cover their design to supplant white labor by the employment of negroes…
>
> President Lincoln must keep his pet lambs out of Schuylkill County.

This conspiracy theory buried itself deeply in the working-class Irish community in Schuylkill County. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, in its article on the violence in western Schuylkill in October 1862, cited this fear among the region's Irish miners. "Upon some of the more ignorant miners," their correspondent wrote, "the rumor of the introduction of negro labor into the region has had bad effect." He described the story as having "general currency" in Cass Township and neighboring communities.

The outbreak of rebellion in Schuylkill County in October 1862 developed from numerous threads of discontent in the laboring classes of the coal region. Resentment about conscription, the Civil War, and emancipation fed into traditional channels of Democratic resistance to the conflict. Historian Grace Palladino points to labor struggles and labor organization as also having significance in the outbreak of this minor rebellion. A toxic combination of class warfare, racial and ethnic fear, and the increasingly unpopular war all led to the violent outbursts in the coal region in 1862.

IN THE COAL REGION, REPUBLICANS BLAMED DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS FOR THE VIOLENCE

Jake Wynn is the former Director of Interpretation at the National Museum of Civil War Medicine. He writes at wynninghistory.com. He currently lives in Frederick, Md.



BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES

THE CONTROVERSIAL DRAFT

Resentment to the U.S. draft flared into numerous violent episodes

BY A. JAMES FULLER

How do you force someone to fight for someone else's freedom? This question reveals the irony of the policy of conscription that the U.S. government implemented during the Civil War. The Confederacy had introduced conscription first and experienced its own widespread popular opposition. But as the conflict wore on, the Northern rush to enlist to put down the rebellion and preserve national unity eventually ebbed, and the question became relevant to the Union. In July 1862, Congress passed a militia law authorizing the president to draft state militia troops into service in the national Army. By autumn the government had begun use of the "state draft" or "militia draft," authorizing the president to draft militiamen from the states, especially after President Abraham Lincoln's Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation after the Battle of Antietam.

By promising to free the slaves still held in Confederate territory on January 1, 1863, the president's executive order explicitly made the war a conflict over slavery and saving the Union. This motive proved unpopular in many areas of the North, and heightened fears of job competition with Blacks, higher taxes, expanded government power, and what some considered to be the tyranny of a stronger executive branch. Recruitment for the expansion of the armed forces became more difficult, and federal authorities turned more frequently to inducements for volunteers and the threat of conscription.

Opponents reacted with protests and sometimes violence. In response, the Army sent troops into areas of resistance, such as the coal regions of Pennsylvania, German Catholic communities in Wisconsin, and parts of southern Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, where large populations of migrants from the South had settled decades before the war.

That fall, the Democrats used civil-liberty concerns, racism, and opposition to the draft and emancipation to gain ground with voters in the 1862 election. The Republicans, meanwhile, argued that anyone who opposed the war and the government was a traitor and called some Democrats "Copperheads"—after a poisonous snake. The term meant a Democrat who went so far in opposing the war as to commit treason. Although the Republicans held on to their congressional majority and most state legislatures, Democrats won control in several states, including the key state of New York. The draft became a potent political policy that, even as it allowed the government to continue waging the war, served to unify the opposition to it.

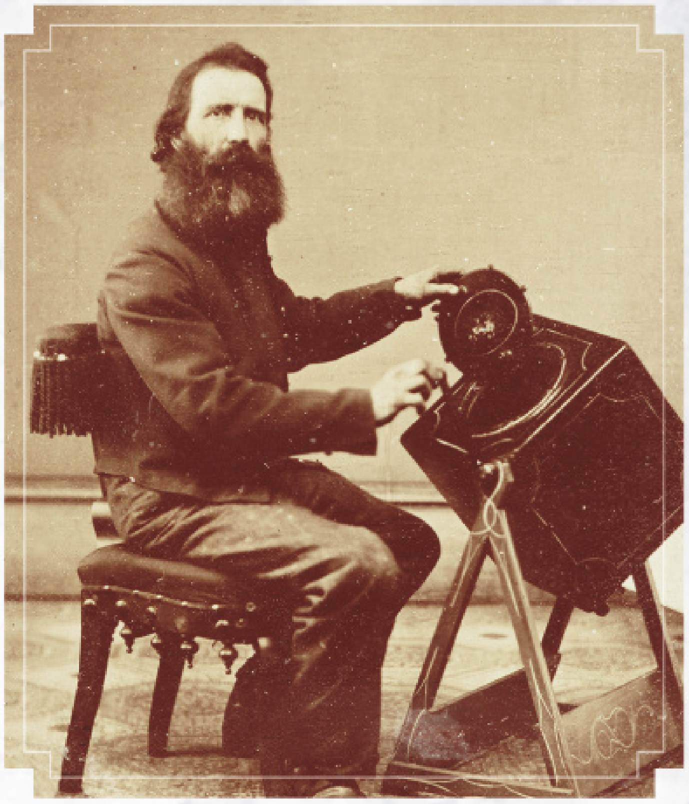
BULLETS AND BRICKS
Union soldiers, some fresh from the Gettysburg battlefield, were sent to New York to restore order and quell draft riots in the city in July 1863.

The next spring, in March 1863, Congress passed the Enrollment Act authorizing a national draft. Every able-bodied male citizen and immigrant between the ages of 20 and 45 years was to be enrolled in the draft. When districts proved unable to fill their quota of recruits with volunteers, provost marshals were to implement the draft to make up the difference. In July 1863, the army carried out the first of four drafts; the next three followed in 1864.

Those whose names were drawn in the draft lottery might be eligible for an exemption—especially if they were the sole means of support for a widow, aging parents, or motherless children. If such an exemption could not be obtained, the draftee could hire a substitute to take his place or pay a $300 commutation fee (which typically only the wealthy could afford) that allowed him to return home. Substitutes tended to be young men of 18 or 19 years who were old enough to serve but too young to be drafted. Immigrants who had not yet applied for citizenship also provided a large pool of possible substitutes.

The option to hire a substitute or pay a fee not to serve angered many, who complained about the conflict's being a "rich man's war and [a] poor man's fight." With many tens of thousands of soldiers dying, it was not surprising that large numbers of men tried to avoid the draft. More than 20 percent of those drafted refused to report, fleeing to the West or going into hiding.

Immigration raised additional concerns about the draft. Throughout the decades before the war, the number of immigrants had increased exponentially. The beginning of the war slowed the rate to a mere trickle, but the demand for workers during the conflict brought dramatic increases in wages, and the number of immigrants began to grow again in response to such economic opportunities. Some immigrant men saw military service as a financial boon as well, viewing the bounties offered to enlistees and the hiring of substitutes as a chance to improve their lot.



TUMBLING FATES

A draft official poses with a box that held draft slips. Once the box was filled, it was turned on the frame to tumble the contents. A man's fate then depended on the operator's grasp.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Approximately 25 percent of Union soldiers were immigrants. Some wanted to enlist and made good soldiers; others were tricked into service by criminals who took advantage of their inability to speak or read English. Nativism remained strong in the Northern states, and Irish immigrants especially experienced prejudice and violence.

Many saw the draft as a violation of individual freedom and civil liberties. When the first national draft was carried out in July 1863, the result was widespread protest. To rally the poor, workers, white farmers, and immigrants against the draft, the Democratic Party often used racist rhetoric, blasting the Lincoln Administration for forcing white men to fight and die for the cause of freeing Black slaves. Race, ethnicity, economics, and the expansion of government power all combined in the crisis of the draft.

New York's governor, Horatio Seymour, predicted a draft would lead to mob violence and the worst came when opposition to conscription led to the New York City Draft Riots. The situation in New York made the city a tinderbox of tension that summer. Divided along ethnic and racial lines, New Yorkers were also stratified by social class and religion. Long the gateway to the nation, the city was home to many German and Irish immigrants, who lived in ethnic areas and neighborhoods and worked for low wages. Thousands of African Americans also called New York home and found themselves targets of racism and discrimination. The Democratic Party had built a political machine in New York City, organizing the city's wards to win elections in exchange for valuable help with everything from municipal services to jobs and housing.

UNREST IN MANHATTAN

The shocking violence that occurred in New York City during the draft riots inspired a number of graphic images. See some here: *historynet.com/riot-sketches*

Party leaders directed the Democratic ward bosses to move immigrants quickly along the path to citizenship in order to get their votes. When the draft began, immigrants who had applied for citizenship were enrolled and made eligible for conscription. Meanwhile, the Emancipation Proclamation implied that the war was a crusade against slavery and this stoked resentment against Blacks among workers, the poor, and immigrants, in part because they feared job competition from millions of freed slaves and in part because of widespread racism.

On July 11, 1863, army officers began the draft lottery in New York City. On July 13, a mob began to form and what started as a protest quickly became a riot marked by violence and the destruction of property. Buildings were set on fire, and firefighters who arrived to fight the blaze were attacked. Soldiers and policemen were targeted, and so were African Americans. The mob beat and tortured those it managed to capture. They lynched Black men and set their bodies afire. The riots that mixed draft unrest with class, race, and ethnic tensions killed over 100 and wounded many more. ★

A. James Fuller is a professor of history at the University of Indianapolis and has authored Oliver P. Morton and the Politics of the Civil War and Reconstruction *(2017),* The Election of 1860 Reconsidered *(2012), and* Chaplain to the Confederacy: Basil Manly and Baptist Life in the Old South *(2000), among other books. "The Draft and Draft Riots of 1863" is an essay within* Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness *and is licensed under CC-BY 4.0 by the Bill of Rights Institute and OpenStax.*

'HAD I BEEN A MAN...'

THE U.S. ARMY'S FIRST FEMALE ARMY CHAPLAIN HAD TO FIGHT TO SECURE HER PLACE IN HISTORY

BY JOHN P. DEEBEN

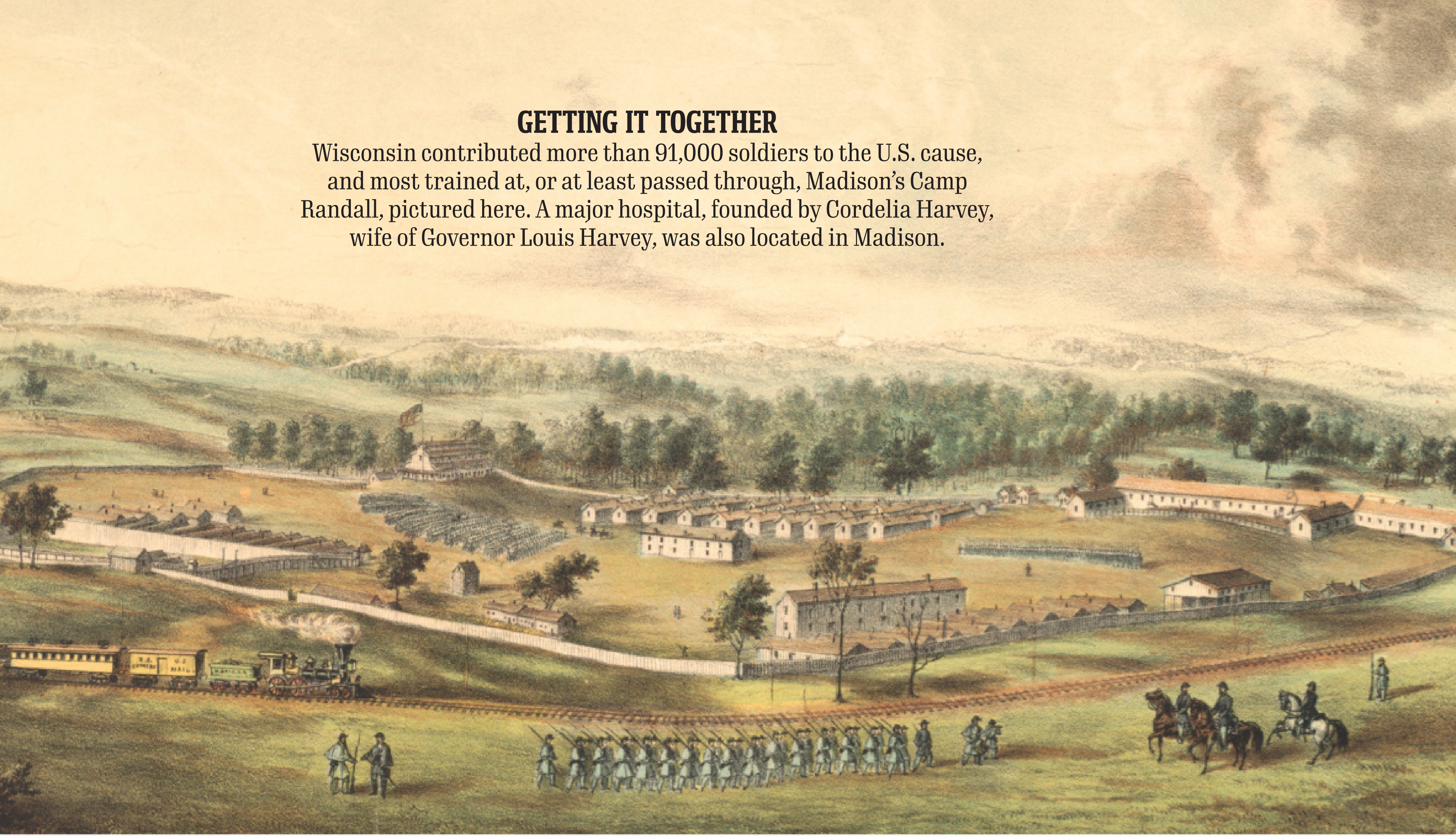
The Civil War has long been recognized as a conflict that ushered in many military and technological innovations—from trench warfare and repeating firearms to submarines and ironclad warships—that foreshadowed the evolution of warfare in the 20th century. What may be less well known, but no less important, is that the war also witnessed the service of the very first female chaplain in the U.S. military, Ellen Elvira Gibson Hobart. A rather obscure correspondence file that found its way into the letter files of the Volunteer Service Division in the Adjutant General's Office at the War Department documents the little-known story of how "Ella" Gibson Hobart faithfully served the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery during the Civil War but tried unsuccessfully to obtain War Department recognition for her efforts.

Ellen Gibson was born May 8, 1821, in Winchendon, Mass., to Isaac and Nancy (Kimball) Gibson. In 1827, Isaac moved the family back to his hometown of Rindge, N.H., where Ella became a successful teacher in the local public schools. She also taught children at Winchendon, Ashby, and Fitchbury, Mass. In 1852 Gibson embarked on a career as a writer and public lecturer on abolition, women's rights, and other moral reform issues. According to later tributes, she achieved early attention as "one of the very first women in America who spoke from the public rostrum," and did not shy away from challenging "the creeds of the church and antiquated political and religious dogmas." After the Civil War began, Gibson engaged in organizing Ladies' Aid societies in Wisconsin to support the needs of soldiers in the field, and was involved with the Northwest Sanitary Fair in Chicago.

COURTESY OF JOHN P. DEEBEN

FROM A BULLY PULPIT

While very few women donned uniforms and fought for the Union, most Northern women, such as Ellen Gibson Hobart (postwar image), supported the war effort in roles more socially acceptable for their gender during that era.



GETTING IT TOGETHER
Wisconsin contributed more than 91,000 soldiers to the U.S. cause, and most trained at, or at least passed through, Madison's Camp Randall, pictured here. A major hospital, founded by Cordelia Harvey, wife of Governor Louis Harvey, was also located in Madison.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On July 21, 1861, Gibson married John E. Hobart, in Geneva, Ill. (they later divorced on August 5, 1868). An ordained Methodist clergyman who entered the Spiritualist tradition in 1856-57, John Hobart soon became chaplain of the 8th Wisconsin Infantry. By then an ardent patriot and Abolitionist, Ella followed her husband to camp and assisted with the spiritual well-being of the troops as well as the physical comfort of the sick and wounded. She became ordained herself in the Spiritualist tradition by the Religio Philosophical Society of St. Charles, Illinois, on November 13, 1863. Her ordination license, or Certificate of Fellowship—a copy of which was included in her correspondence file at the AGO—recognized Hobart as a Regular Ordained Minister of the Gospel and authorized her "to solemnize marriages in accordance with law." An accompanying statement from the board of the Religio Philosophical Society, dated May 2, 1864, confirmed Hobart's status as an ordained member and recommended her for "the appointment to a Chaplaincy either in the Regular Army of the United States or for a post in Regimental Volunteer Service Chaplaincy."

ELLA BEGAN TO PERFORM UNOFFICIAL DUTIES AS CHAPLAIN OF THE 1ST WISCONSIN HEAVY ARTILLERY

An opportunity for regimental service soon came along as Ella began to perform unofficial duties as chaplain of the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery while batteries E through M were being organized at Camp Randall in Madison, Wis., in September 1864. The regiment then moved to the defenses outside Washington, D.C., and at Fort Lyon in Alexandria, Va., Hobart was elected chaplain by the regimental officers on November 22, 1864. Wisconsin's adjutant general wrote to the War Department on December 17, 1864, requesting confirmation of Hobart's election by securing her an official appointment to the regiment's chaplaincy. Despite having a roundabout endorsement from President Abraham Lincoln, to whom Ella had previously applied for support and who expressed no objection to her commission (even though Lincoln claimed to have no legal authority to approve such an appointment), Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton flatly denied the request on the grounds that no precedent existed to muster a female into military service. In spite of the official rejection, Ella Hobart continued to minister "faithfully and to the satisfaction of the officers and enlisted men" of the 1st Wisconsin for the remainder of the war until July 12, 1865.

Official recognition for Hobart's military service as a chaplain came slowly in the postwar years. On March 3, 1869, a joint resolution was finally introduced in Congress to grant Hobart full pay and related emoluments "for the time during which she faithfully performed the service of a chaplain…as if she had been regularly commissioned and mustered into service."

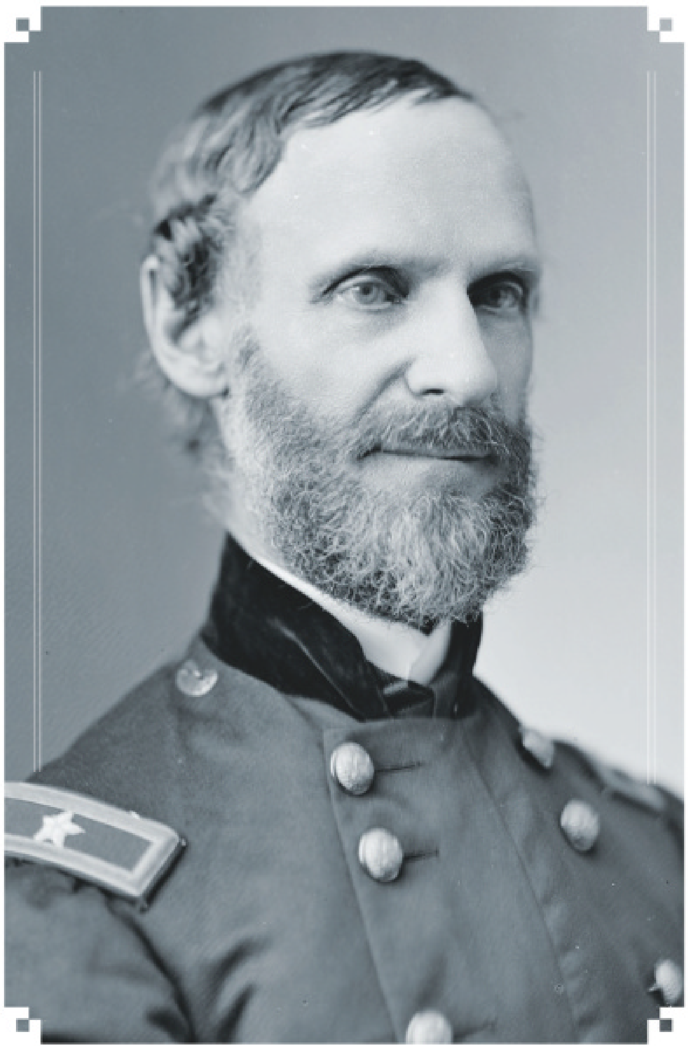
To support her case for back pay, Hobart penned a lengthy narrative of her military service to Adjutant General Edward D. Townsend, in which she adamantly defended her work as a chaplain despite the inherent disadvantages she faced in her profession because of her gender:

BOSTON
Dec. 9th 1869.

Maj. Gen. E.D. Townsend
A.A. Gen. U.S.A.
Washington, D.C.

Sir—
Understanding that you demand further proofs to establish my Claim passed by Congress last session, permit me, Sir, to make a plain statement of facts as I know and understand them. Bear with me and I will be as brief as possible.

Last July, I received letters from three of the officers of the Regiment, saying, that they were ready to give again, their affidavits, when called upon. I then saw Col. Swift's Agent in Boston, who told me, that the proofs already forwarded and then on file, upon which the Bill passed Congress, were sufficient, therefore, I made no farther effort to procure them. I regret, now, exceedingly that they were not then obtained, as their non-appearance seems to have given rise to the supposition that such proofs as to service actually rendered could not be procured.



HE LISTENED
Hobart pled her case for a pension to Edward Townsend, an 1837 West Point graduate and career military man who at one time served on Winfield Scott's staff. He retired as a brigadier general in 1880, and died in 1893.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A REVERED BIRD
Above, the color guard of the 8th Wisconsin Infantry poses with the regiment's famous mascot "Old Abe" the war eagle. Ellen's first experience with military life came when she accompanied her husband, John, during his service as the 8th's regimental chaplain.

But, Sir, permit me, to refer you to those on which the Bill passed as evidence, not only of such service, but of nearly two years unpaid toil, previous to my entering the Army as Chaplain.

Have patience, Sir, I beseech you, and give me a hearing. It was in consequence of this two years faithful service, in organizing Soldiers Aid Societies in Wisconsin, raising funds for the Sanitary Commission, and rendering service in other states, in various ways, both North and South that influenced Governor Lewis, General Fairchild—then State Secretary—and Hon. S. D. Hastings—State Treasurer, to recommend this Chaplaincy to the then enlisting Regiments in Camp Randall, Madison, Wisconsin.

Governor Lewis and General Fairchild desired to give me a paying position—the former, saying, that he would commission me provided I was elected by any Wisconsin Regiment, for enquire, then, why he did not do so: Have patience, Sir, and I will give you the facts as I understand them, and as reported to me by him and others.

The Regiment was not organized until after we reached Alexandria. I went down with one of the Batteries. Col. Meservey was already there, and when the election came off he forwarded the appointment to Governor Lewis, who instead of Commissioning me wrote to the Secretary of War enquiring if he would authorize the mustering provided he did commission me. Mr. Stanton replied in the negative. Every effort seems to have been made by the Wisconsin State authorities to induce him to reconsider his decision, but of no avail. Even the approbation of President Lincoln, obtained by myself failed to move him. The Officers of the Regiment were not behind in that endeavor, as their Petition will testify; they affirmed they would not elect any other Chaplain, and I signified my willingness to remain and act as Chaplain as long as they were satisfied, without any expense to them or the Regiment. Secretary Stanton, then advised me to put a Bill in Congress and obtain the place by a special Act, which I then did not feel disposed to do.

Now for the service. I did all and more than was required of me in the Hospital; and as to lecturing on preaching to the men—a portion of the Sundays I held two or three services in various barracks, speaking also week day evenings, and conducting funerals in the open air, as late in the season as December. We had no Chapel or place of meeting except the barracks, and the open air.

It does not seem modest for me, Sir, to Speak of these labors particularly, even could I without appearing egotistical and incurring your contempt. I would therefore, refer you to Colonel Meservey, and Surgeon Waterhouse of the Regiment, General Auger and Capt. Lee, for proofs; in one instance, as to service rendered under the most difficult, sad and soul harrowing circumstances in procuring a furlough for a soldier to escort him to Wisconsin a distracted mother and the dead body of her son, whom she expected on her arrival at our Headquarters to find alive and well, but whose lifeless son had been taken to the Dead House one hour previous. He was her son; She could not leave his body there! She was too distracted to return alone! O, Sir, though you may think lightly of it, a mother is a mother, and appreciates such service—and does not God; and will not my country, and render to a woman, who knew neither ease nor rest for nearly three long years, her pay to keep her from starving!

O, Sir, had I been a man, my ability and usefulness would never have been questioned! The reason I am so explicit is because I understood you question whether such service as is claimed ever was or could ever be rendered.

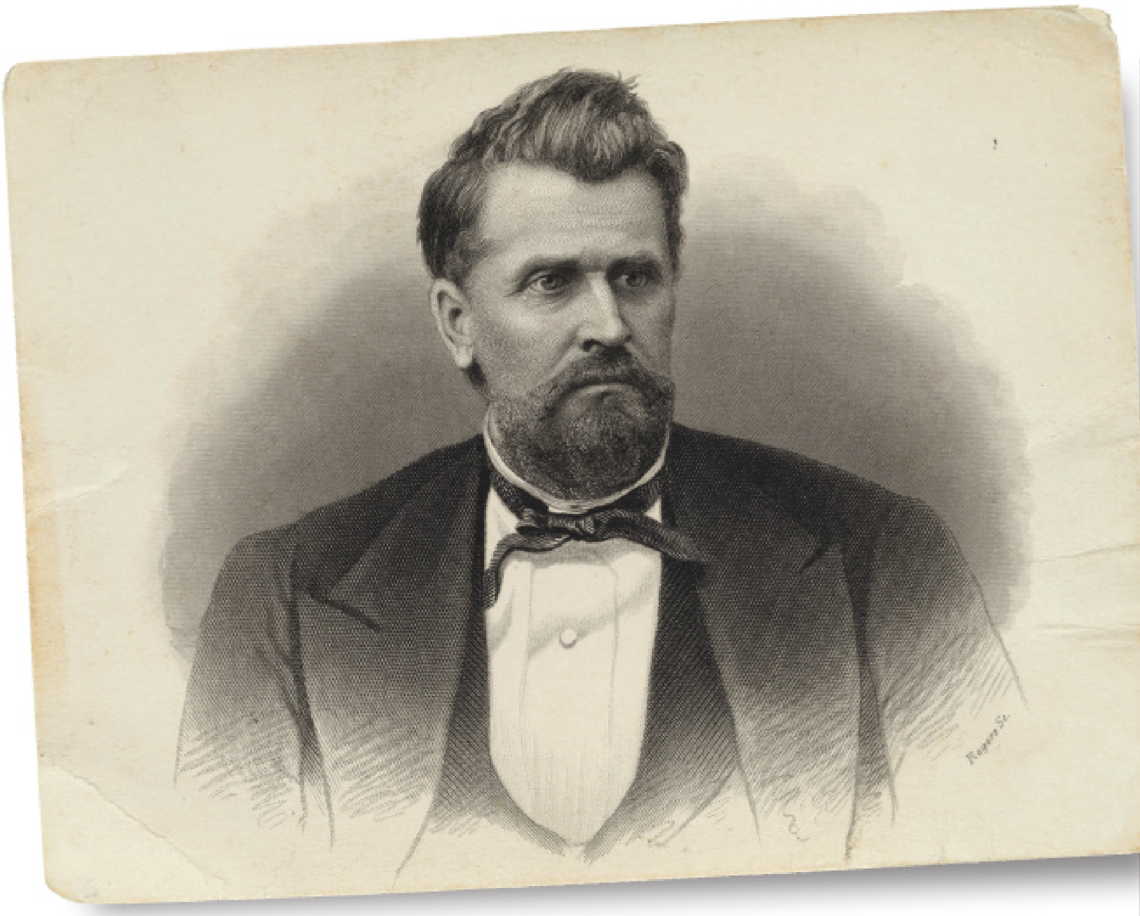
Now as to the time of service. Colonel Meservey and all his Officers in Camp at that time committed themselves to me on September 30th, 1864. I was not "a favorite" of the Colonel or any of his Officers. I had been speaking there and had in six weeks time given thirty nine lectures in Camp Randall, [illegible word]. I had never seen the Colonel until that day, but he had heard of my labors and the report with the papers, in my possession, influenced him to grant me this position. Neither was I acquainted with the other Officers of the Regiment.

Colonel Meservey left for Alexandria that day, but as I was informed, not till after he had seen Governor Lewis and obtained from him the ratification of his promise made to me, that he would commission me, provided I was elected Chaplain of any regiment.

From that time Sept. 30th 1864, I date my claim for pay, because, from that day I labored particularly for that Regiment or the Batteries composing it, then being filled up in Camp Randall and till I left for Alexandria Oct 17th, and reached there Oct. 22d and until the election Nov 22d, when the Regiment composing these several batteries, could legally elect me, I was doing all in my power for the comfort and happiness of the men the [*sic*] serve as after the election when I was legally acknowledged Chaplain-elect of the Regiment.

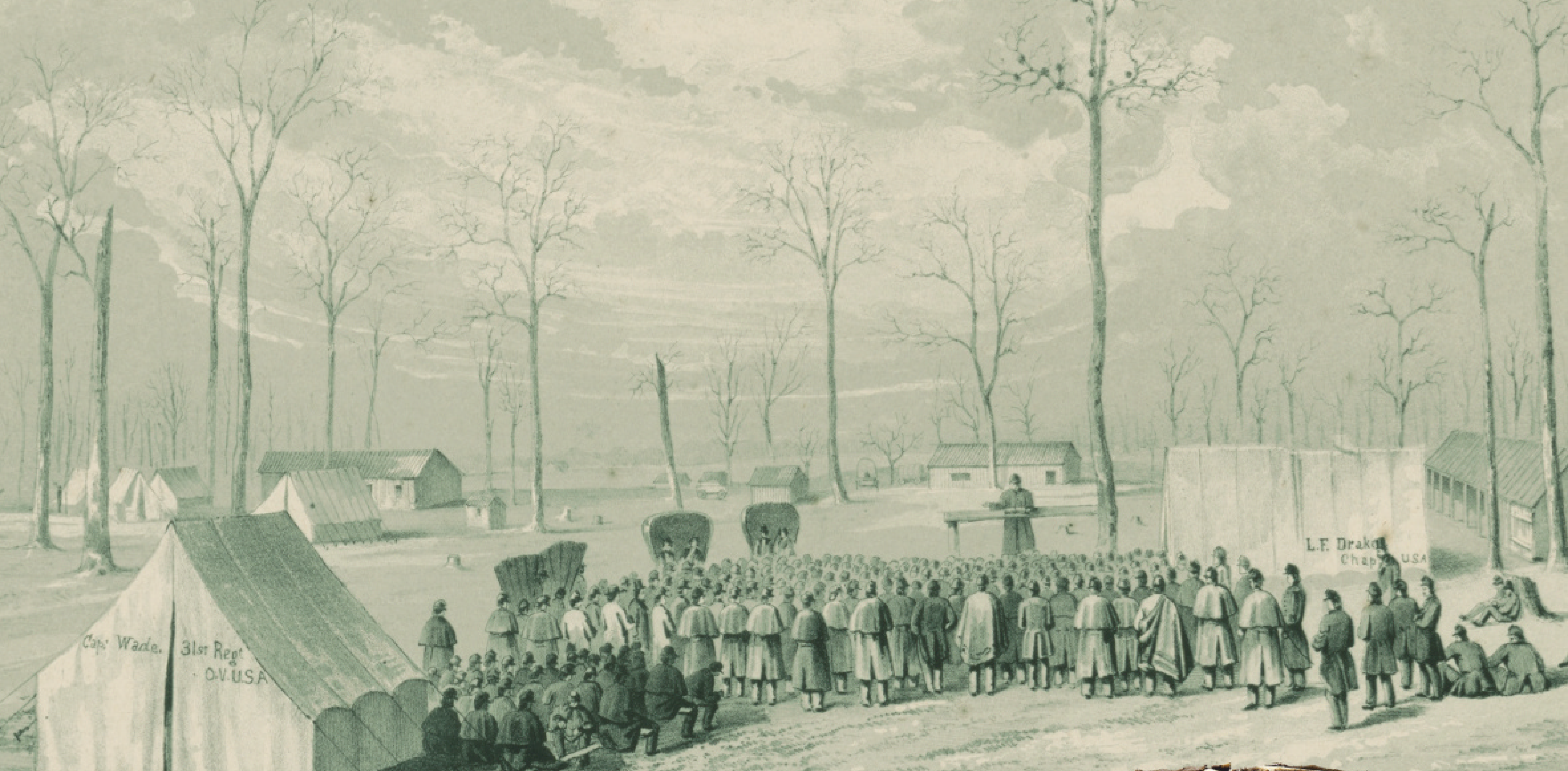
I claim that all this time I was "faithfully performing the services of Chaplain to said Regiment as if I had been regularly commissioned and mustered into the service," and was bearing my own expenses independent of the Government or any individual, either in the Regiment or out.

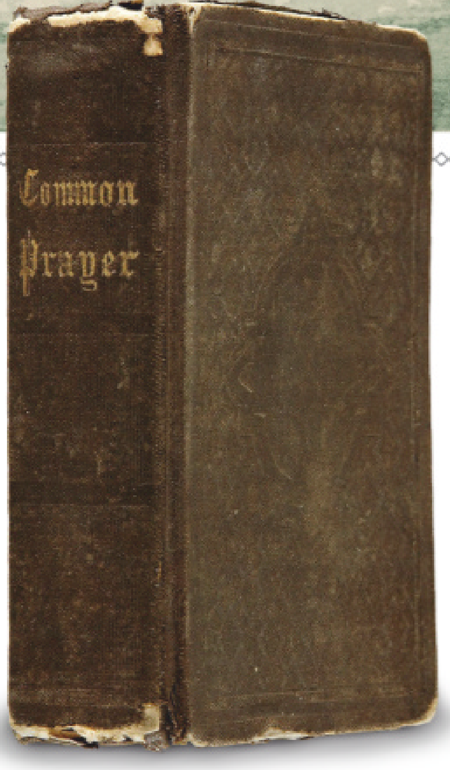
Now, Sir, when does my term of service commence—not when I was commissioned, for I never was commissioned, not when I was mustered for I never was mustered; from when I was elected, or when a sufficient



DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS
Like many Americans of the 19th century, James T. Lewis, left, was born in the East, New York, and moved west as the country was growing. He became governor of Wisconsin in 1864. Born in Milwaukee, Charles C. Meservey, right, worked as an industrial foreman before the war. He enlisted in 1861 and rose through the ranks to become the colonel of the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery. Interestingly, he moved to New York after the war and worked as a publisher in the newspaper industry.

WISCONSIN VETERANS MUSEUM (2)





NEARER THY GOD

Religious fervor often surged in winter camps, when soldiers had more time to dwell on their wartime fates. In the image above, a chaplain leads the 31st Ohio Infantry in prayer on a cold winter's day. The Common Prayer book at right was given as a gift to C.H. Nye of a U.S. Sharpshooters regiment in December 1861.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS

number of days after the election had expired to have had my commission arrive from Wisconsin and myself been legally mustered into the service as Chaplain? The mustering might then have taken place in about ten days after the election—Nov. 22d, which would have been December 1st or 2d.

Now, Sir, I claim as the Resolution provides, "shall be entitled to receive the full pay and emoluments of a Chaplain in the United States army for the time during which she faithfully performed the services of a Chaplain to said Regiment," that that "time" commenced Sept 30th 1864 and continued till July 4th 1865 and also claim three months pay after the close of the war the same as other Chaplains, with all the emoluments of a Chaplain during this time. I am not indebted to the government except the use of a tent a few weeks, I had none of the privileges of an Officer of the rank of Chaplain, but performed the duties of that office, while to all intents and purposes I was only a citizen as far as the government was concerned.

I am not disposed, Sir, to be captious or exacting but humanity, benevolence and patriotism is paid very poorly, if I am entitled to nothing from government or my fellow creatures.

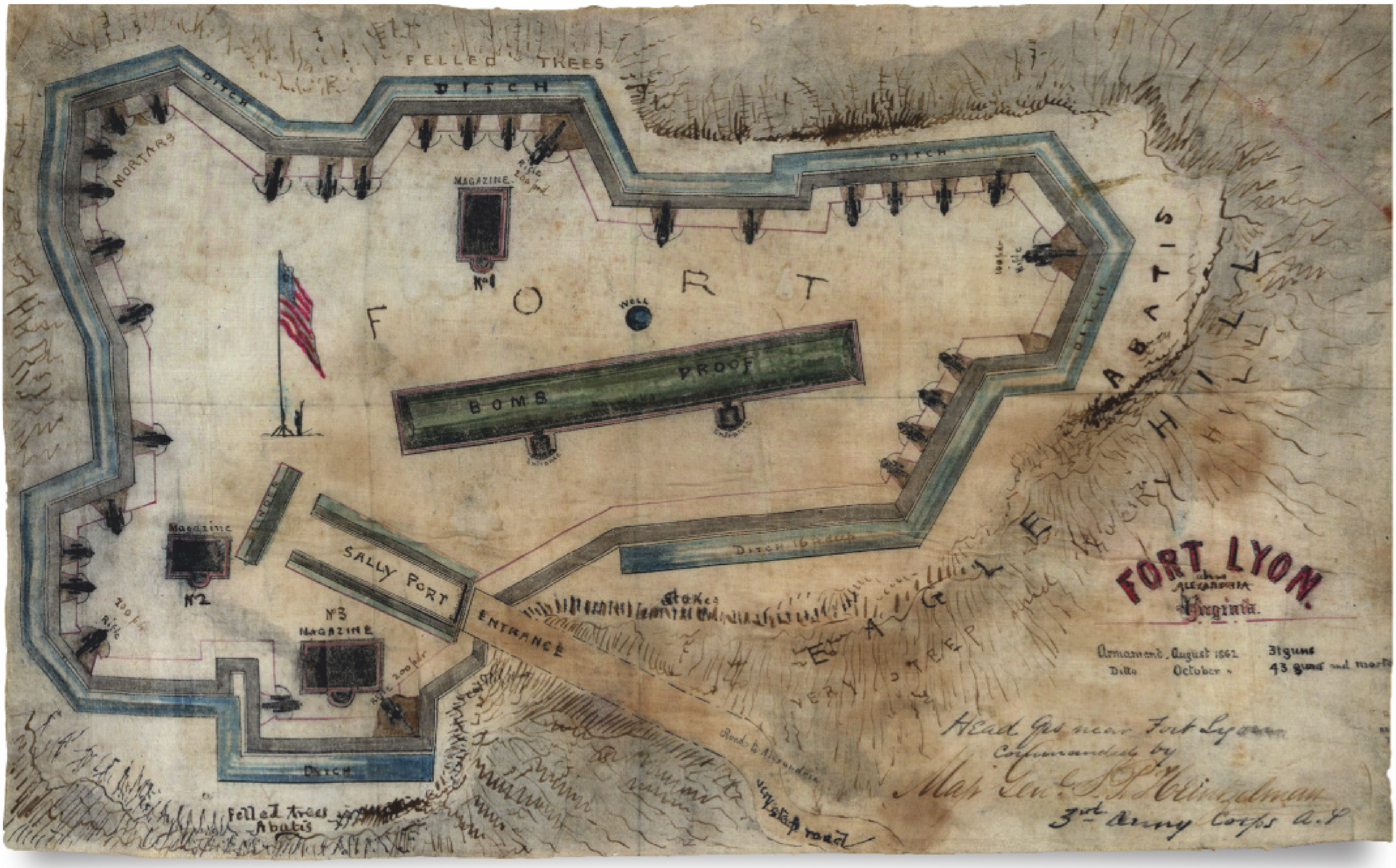
The encouragement to utility, morality, charity and love is meager indeed, when it becomes less in the eyes of this Republic than the value of a bridge or a piece of land. Where will you find your Florence Nightingale in another war if you refuse thus to acknowledge them in this.

O, Sir, I beseech you, stand not in the way of this Claim, for it is due me as you may know if you will take the pains to enquire of Governors Lewis, Fairchild and Salamon and many other gentlemen to whom you may be referred.

I have need of this pay as I am alone, alone in this world—all my loved ones are dead or dying and with my health ruined, like many a male Soldier of the Rebellion I enquire, shall I end my days in a pauper house, disabled, sad and misanthropic realizing that "Republics are indeed ungrateful?"

Sir, I have given you a synopsis of facts as far as my knowledge extends and if you desire farther particulars explanations or references, please, inform me. Do not suffer misrepresentation or prejudice to influence you in a matter which though to yourself of slight importance, nevertheless, involves the real or woe of one whose comfort and happiness are as dear to her, as are yours to you or even as are a President's or titled Monarch's to them.

Aware that you are but a servant and can only obey the law under which you are sworn, permit me, Sir, to add, in conclusion, that whatever


FELLED TREES
DITCH
MORTARS
MAGAZINE
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No 2
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ENTRANCE
Stokes
ABATIS
HILL
EAGLE
VERY STEEP
Felled trees Abatis
Road to Alexandria
FORT LYON.
near ALEXANDRIA
Virginia.
Armament, August 1862 31 guns
Ditto October 43 guns and mortars
Head Qrs near Fort Lyon
Commanded by
Maj. Genl. S. P. Heintzelman
3rd Army Corps A. P.

CHAPLAIN HOBART'S CHURCH

In November 1864, Hobart and the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery were sent to Fort Lyon, named for Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, killed at Wilson's Creek, Mo., on August 10, 1861. The fort, built by the 27th New York, was well stocked with 200-pounder Parrott rifles and mortars.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the Resolution is proven to signify that I will accept as a Resolution though not as my Claim and right from Government, unless it includes all I demand.

Therefore, if it should be proven that the time of service included in the Resolution did not commence till much later than I claim, I shall still maintain that my labors with the Regiment began Sept 30th and also my expenses.

I have recently written to four of the Officers of the Regiment for Affidavits and will forward them as soon as received.

In hopes that justice will finally be rendered me, I await your action and reply.

Mrs. Ella G. Hobart
242 Harrison Avenue
Boston, Mass.

Hobart finally received payment for her services as a chaplain on March 7, 1876, in the amount of $1,210.56. Recognition for her military service, however, remained elusive. The 1869 joint resolution was amended twice in the House of Representatives, in 1880 (H.R. 8578) and 1892 (H.R. 3842), to recognize Hobart as chaplain of the 1st Wisconsin Heavy Artillery and to muster her into the Volunteer Service of the United States at the equivalent grade. Both measures apparently failed. Meanwhile, Hobart (who by then had reverted to using her maiden name of Gibson) continued her career as an author, penning articles for *The Truth Seeker*, *The Boston Investigator*, *The Ironclad Age*, and *The Moralist* (and serving as editor of the latter periodical in the early 1890s). She became a supporter of the Free Thought movement and a charter member of the National Liberal League. Ellen Hobart died on March 8, 1901, in Barre, Mass.

It was not until 100 years after Hobart's death that a grateful nation finally recognized her military service when Congress posthumously granted Hobart the grade of captain in the Chaplain Corps of the U.S. Army via the National Defense Authorization Act of 2002. By then, however, Hobart had already been eclipsed for nearly 30 years as the first "official" female chaplain in the military by Lt. Dianna Pohlman Bell, who was commissioned as a U.S. Navy chaplain in 1973.

* * *

John P. Deeben holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in American History from Gettysburg College and Penn State University and is a reference archivist with Research Services at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. He has published articles in numerous genealogical journals and magazines, including Prologue, American Ancestors, *and* National Genealogical Society Quarterly.

HOME OF THE BADGERS

A Civil War drill field becomes a football field

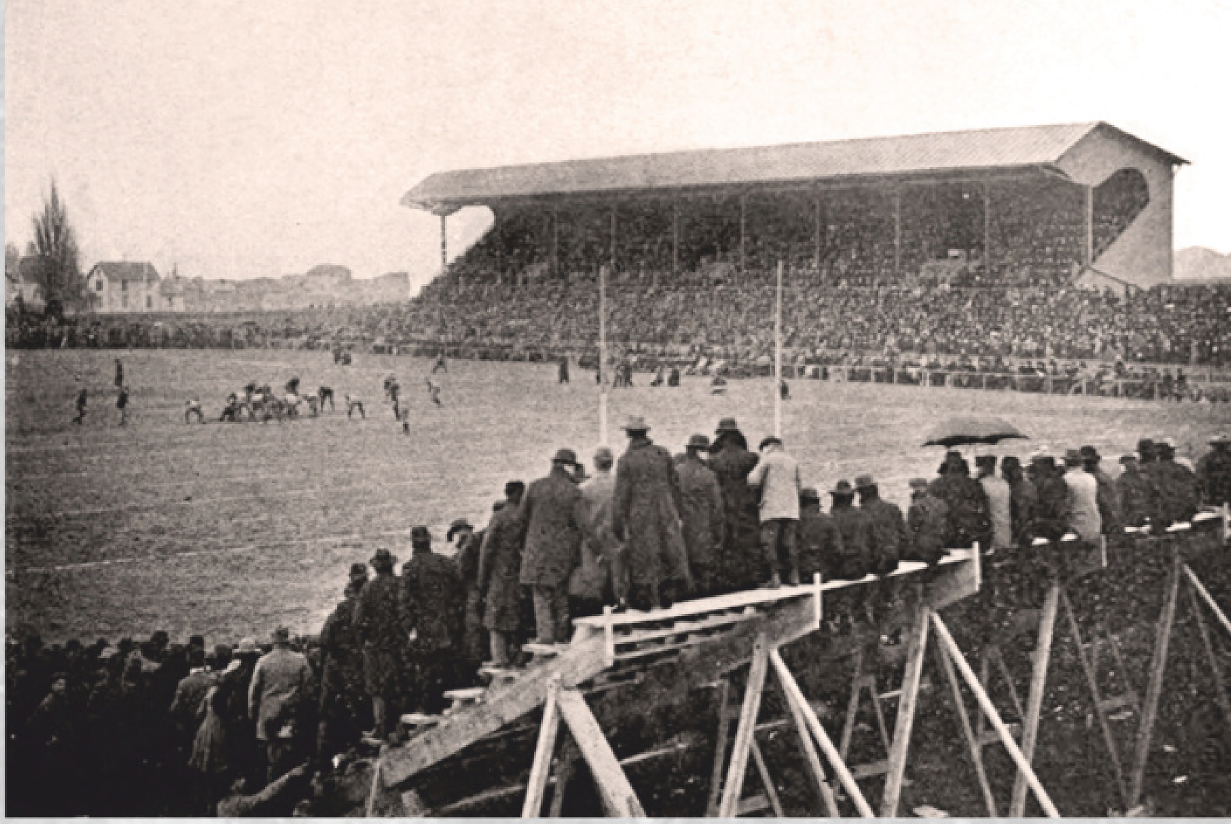
Wisconsin men eagerly answered President Lincoln's call for troops in April 1861, and more volunteers came forward than could initially be used. Governor Alexander Randall set up a training ground for troops in the capital city of Madison. The encampment, named Camp Randall, included barracks and officer quarters that could accommodate up to 5,000 soldiers at a time. More than 70,000 men traveled from around the state to drill at Camp Randall during the war.

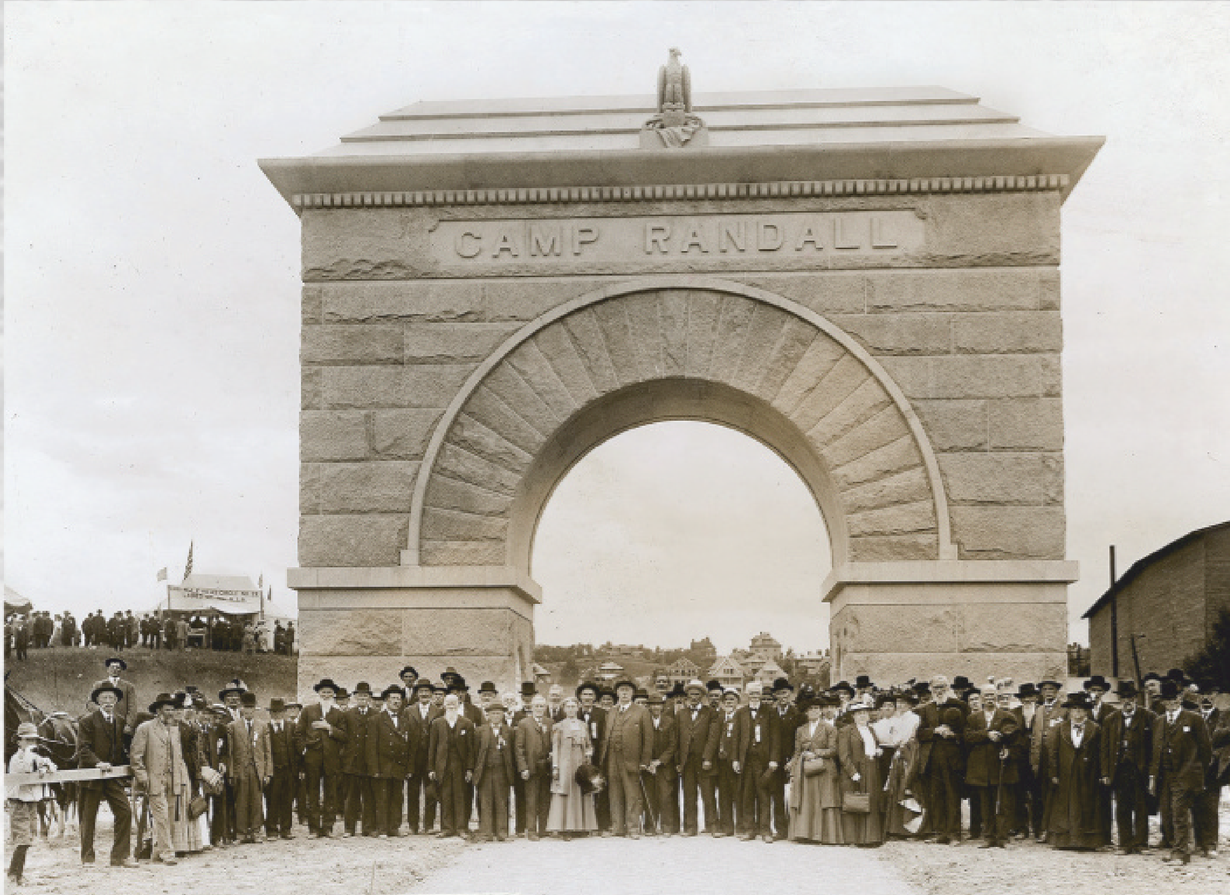
In 1893, after an outcry from Civil War veterans over plans to turn the site into building lots, the state bought it and presented it to the University of Wisconsin, which dedicated its use as an athletic ground. In 1895, a wooden stadium was opened on the grounds for use by the football and baseball teams.

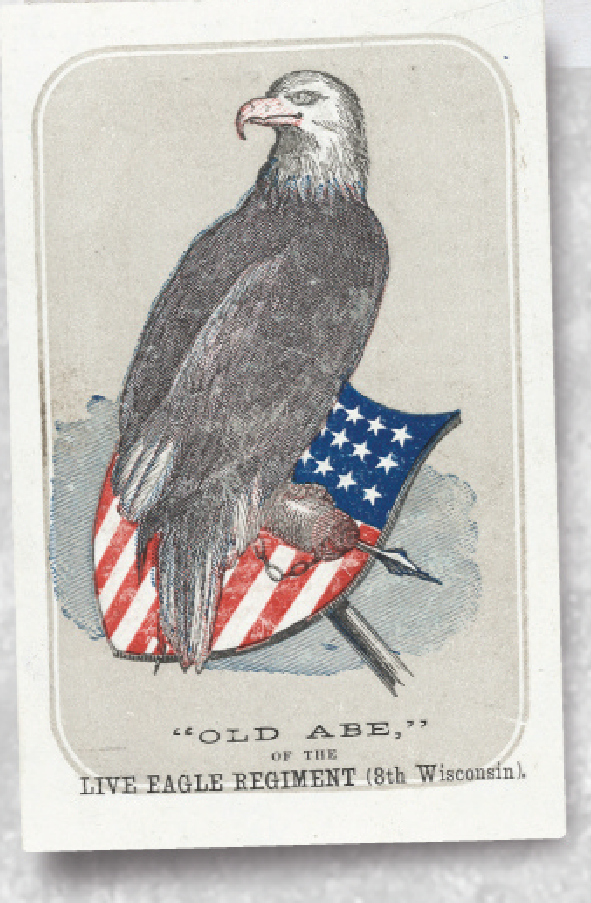
In 1915, three sections of the bleachers collapsed during a game, and the university was granted enough money to build a concrete and steel stadium. The first football game played in the new 10,000-seat stadium was on October 6, 1917, against Beloit, with Madison's Badgers winning 34-0. Camp Randall Stadium has continued to be renovated and updated over the years and remains the home of the Badgers today. Its current capacity is more than 75,000 fans, close to the number of soldiers who trained there.

Entrants to the stadium and historic Camp Randall Memorial Park pass under Camp Randall Memorial Arch. Erected in 1912 as a tribute to the Civil War soldiers who trained at the camp, the arch is flanked by two statues, a young soldier and a veteran. Old Abe, the bald eagle mascot of the 8th Wisconsin, sits atop the arch greeting visitors. —*Melissa A. Winn*

FOOTBALL FOR PLAYER AND SPECTATOR; WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY (2)



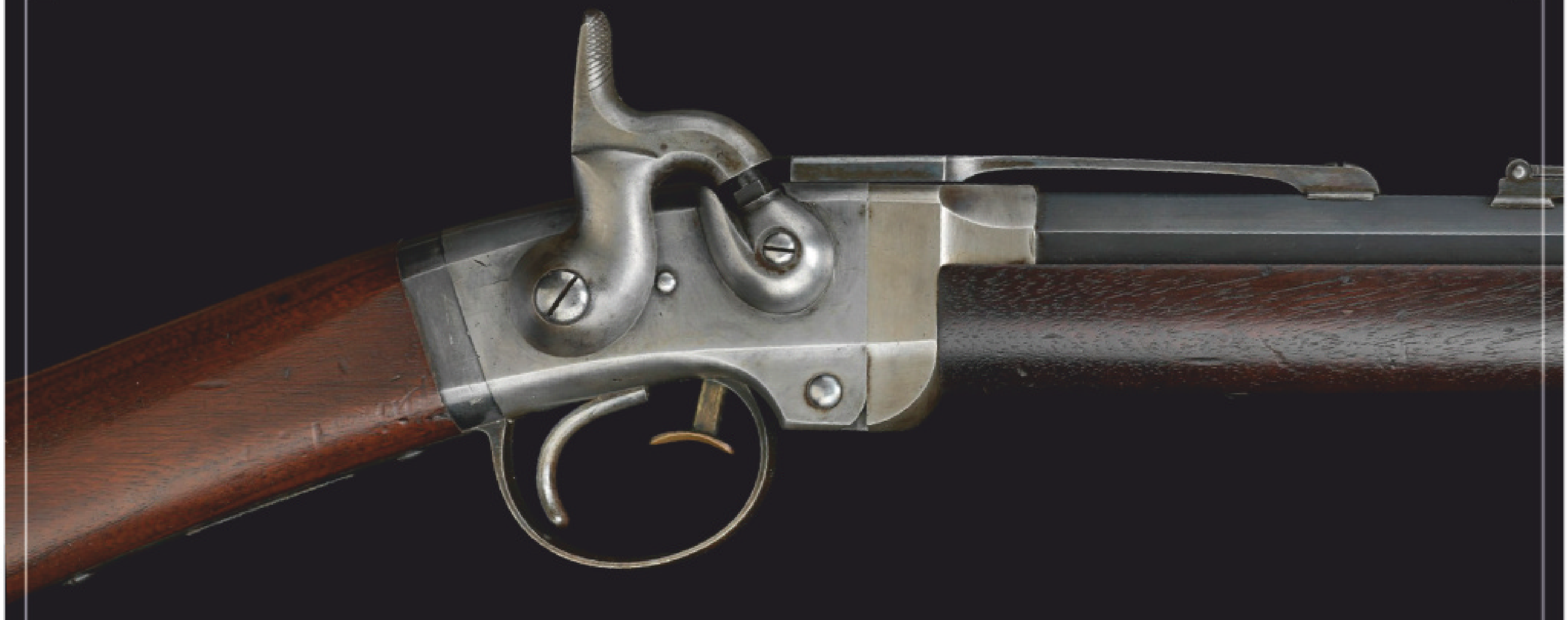


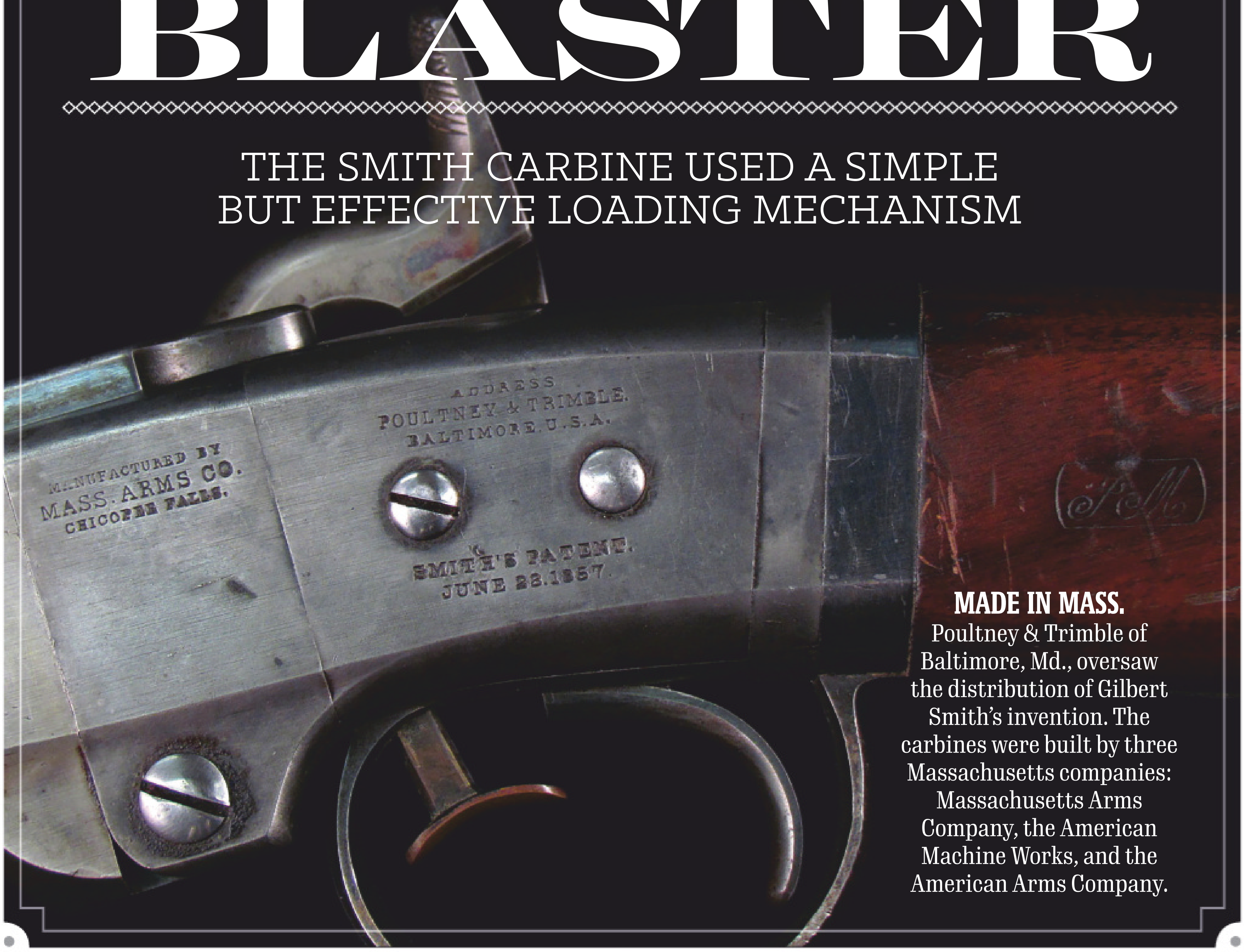

"OLD ABE,"
OF THE
LIVE EAGLE REGIMENT (8th Wisconsin).

FIELD OF DREAMS
Civil War veterans welcomed the use of Camp Randall as the University of Wisconsin's new athletic field, pictured on top in 1904 with its controversial wood bleachers. Above, veterans turned out in high numbers to the 1912 dedication of Camp Randall Memorial Arch, which features several tributes to Wisconsin's Civil War soldiers, including "Old Abe," the mascot of the 8th Wisconsin Infantry.

BUTTERMILK FALLS BLASTER

THE SMITH CARBINE USED A SIMPLE BUT EFFECTIVE LOADING MECHANISM

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MASS. ARMS CO.
CHICOPEE FALLS.
SMITH'S PATENT.
JUNE 23.1857

MADE IN MASS. Poultney & Trimble of Baltimore, Md., oversaw the distribution of Gilbert Smith's invention. The carbines were built by three Massachusetts companies: Massachusetts Arms Company, the American Machine Works, and the American Arms Company.

SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY

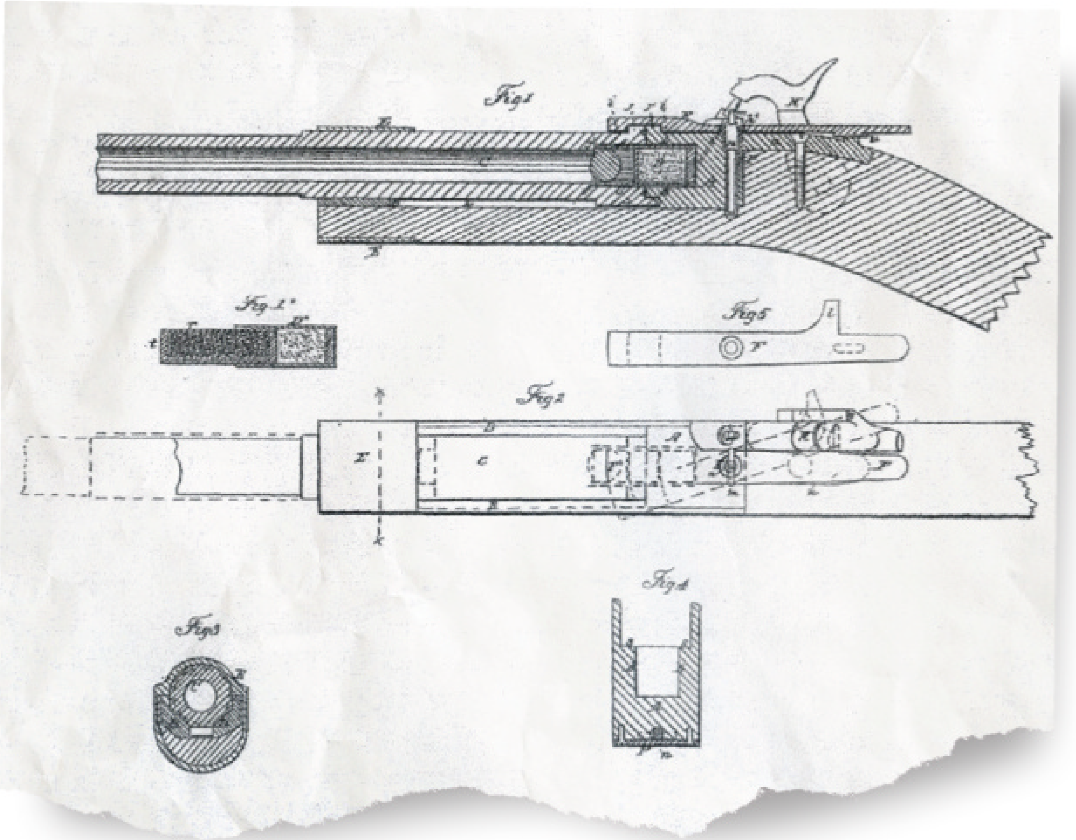
A PLACE NAMED Buttermilk Falls doesn't sound like it should be associated with a deadly firearm, but that New York town was the home of Gilbert Smith, inventor of a .50-caliber breechloading carbine he patented in 1857 that bears his name.

In 1860, the Washington Arsenal Ordnance Board tested the carbine and was impressed with its ease of loading and accuracy, recommending "it be adopted…."

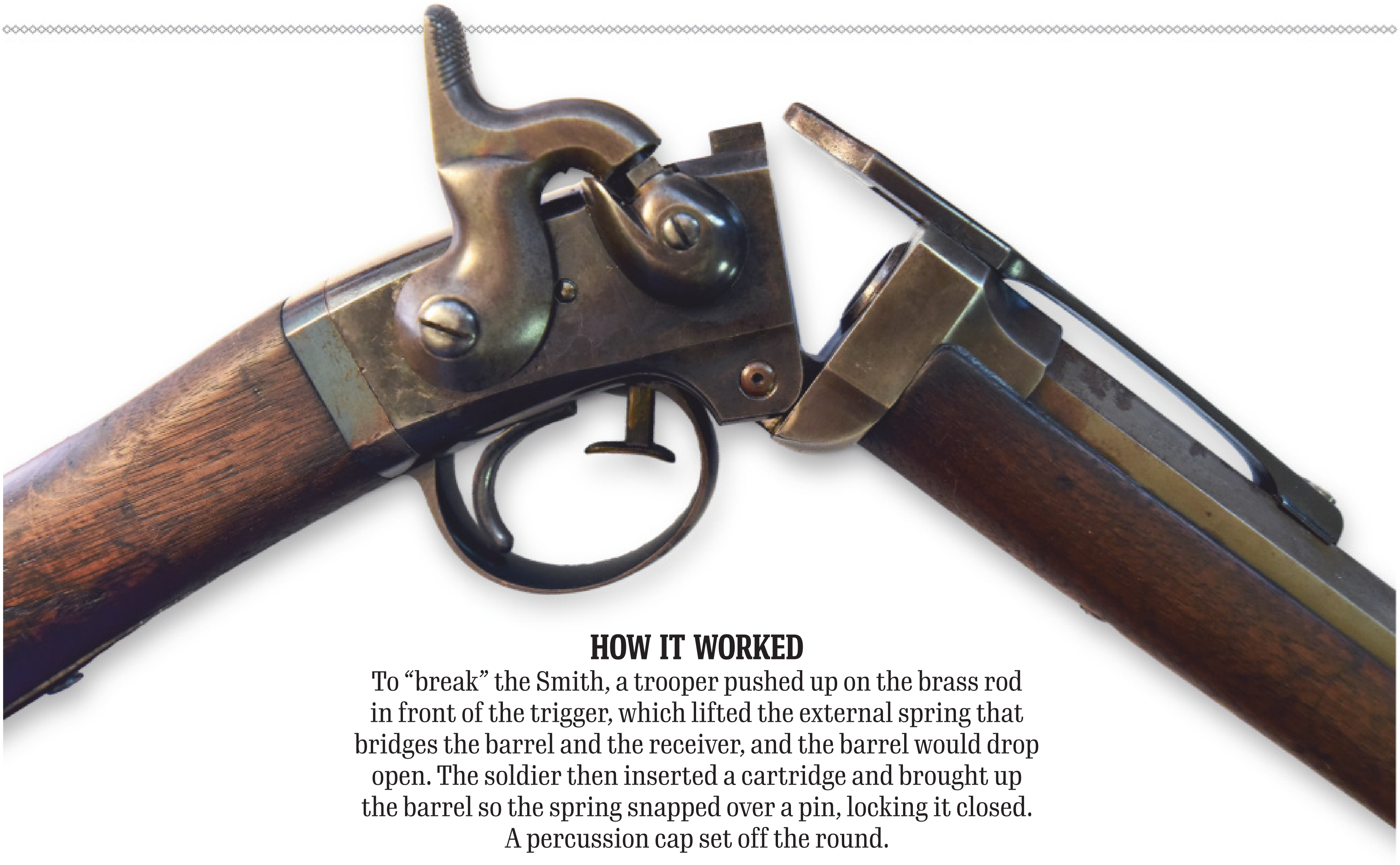
Many Northern troopers liked the Smith. The 10th New York Cavalry, for example gave it high marks for its durability and ease of use. But others complained that the external spring that held the breech closed was sometimes made of inferior metal, and could break and render the gun useless.

In 1860, Raleigh Colston, then a Virginia Military Institute professor who would become a brigadier general in the Confederate Army, tested the gun for his school and found that after 60 shots the Smith "clogged up so that it could no longer be worked."

Despite its flaws, more than 30,000 Smith carbines were issued during the war, and it was the fourth most widely used carbine in the Union arsenal.

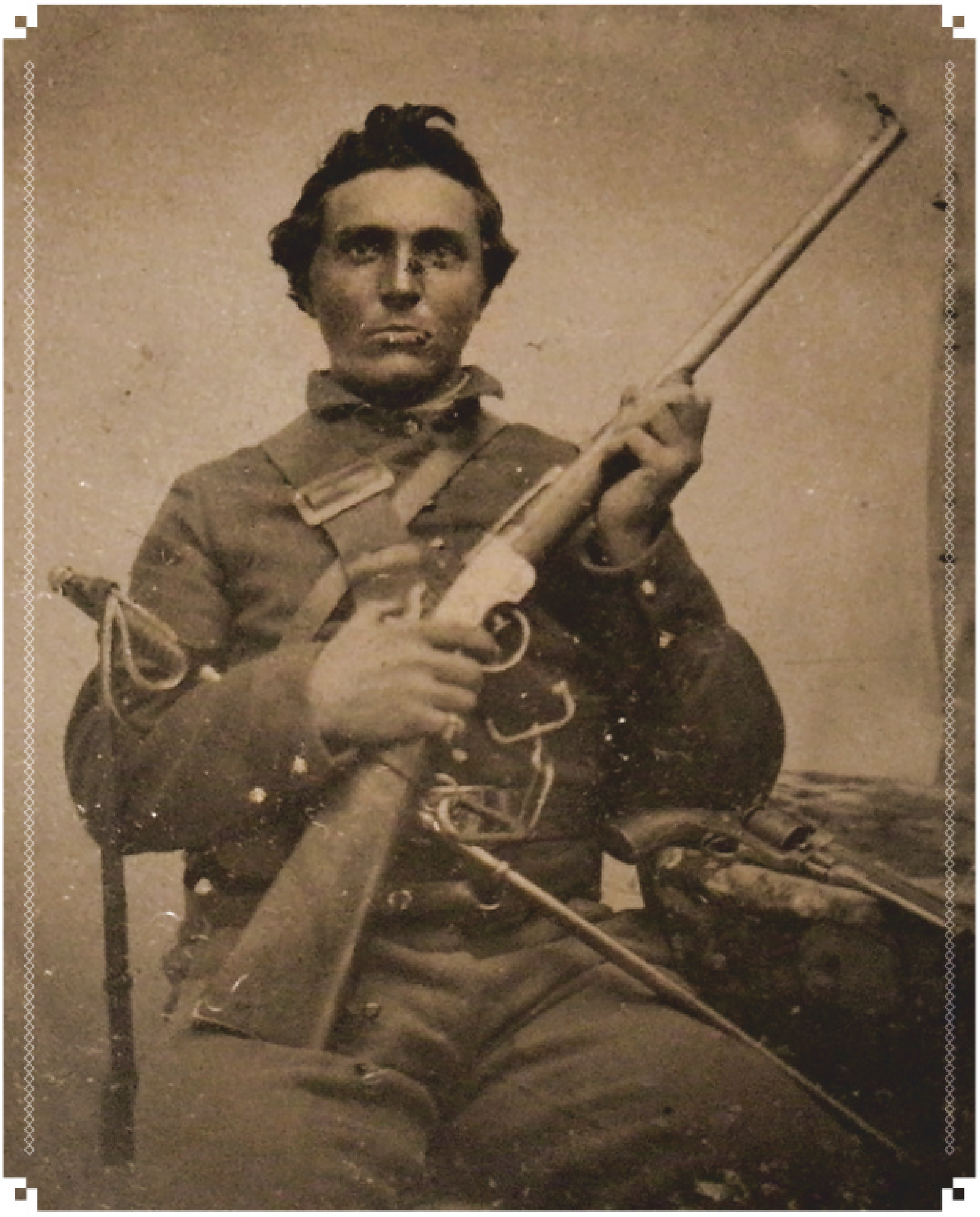


THE CHANGING FACE OF WARFARE
A portion of Gilbert Smith's June 23, 1857, patent drawing for his breechloading carbine. It's interesting to note that while the U.S. Army was very conservative when it came to arming infantrymen, providing the vast majority of the rank and file with single-shot muzzle loaders, the opposite was true for the mounted arm. Multiple types of breechloaders, and even some repeaters, were issued out to Federal cavalry regiments.



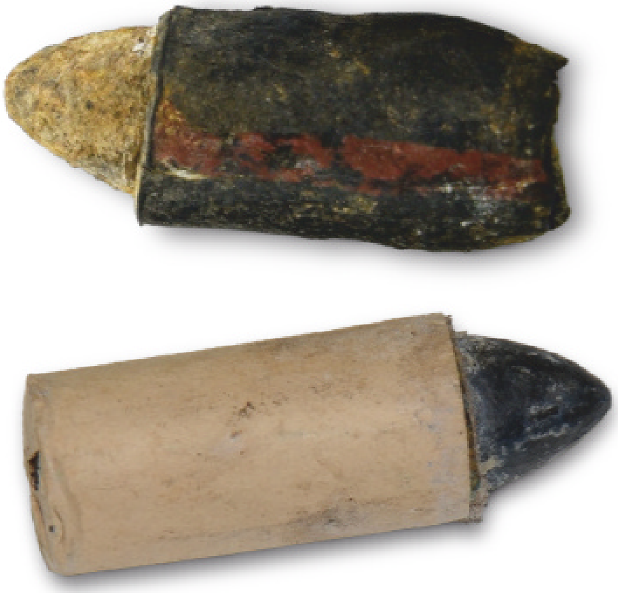
HOW IT WORKED
To "break" the Smith, a trooper pushed up on the brass rod in front of the trigger, which lifted the external spring that bridges the barrel and the receiver, and the barrel would drop open. The soldier then inserted a cartridge and brought up the barrel so the spring snapped over a pin, locking it closed. A percussion cap set off the round.

U.S. PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE; DANA B. SHOAF COLLECTION/PHOTO BY MELISSA A. WINN



WELL ARMED AND FULL COCKED

A Union cavalryman with his Smith Carbine snapped into his sling, and at full cock. Though the weapon was a breechloader it still used a percussion cap for ignition. The spark from a snapped cap passed through a hole in the base of the cartridge to ignite the powder charge. You can just make out that hole, the dark spot in the center of the base, in the bottom cartridge above.

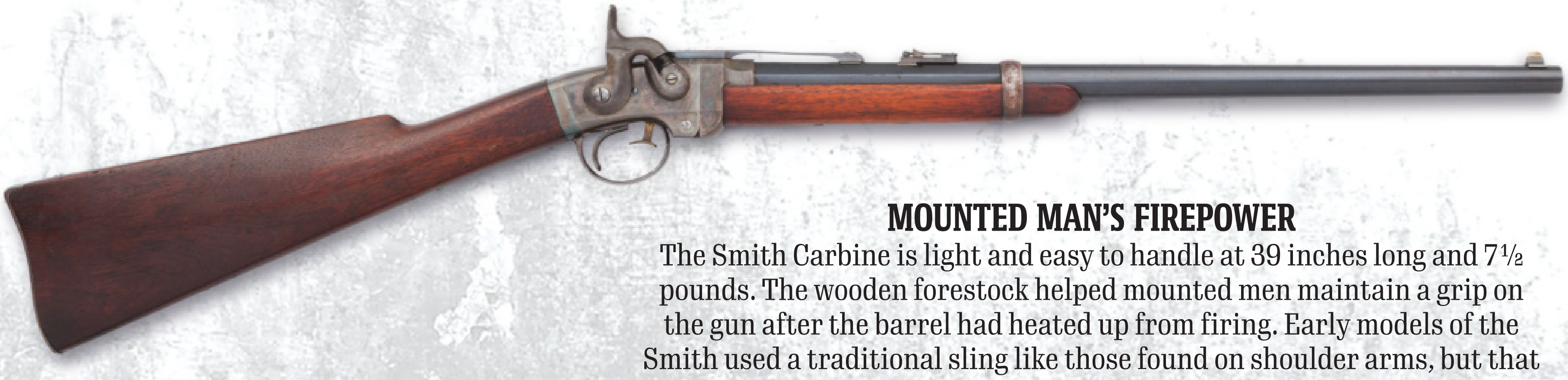


PAPER BEATS RUBBER

Smith also patented cartridges made of hard rubber, like the excavated example from Virginia, top, for his carbine. The rubber helped prevent gas blowback, but casings became sticky and hard to extract when the gun got hot. In December 1863, a new version of the cartridge developed by Thomas Poultney of Poultney & Trimble was issued that used a brass case wrapped in paper, bottom, which helped seal the breech.

POP! POP! WATCH A SMITH CARBINE FIRE.

Follow the link below to see a demonstration of an original Smith Carbine being loaded with .50-caliber bullets and fired at a target. *historynet.com/smith-carbine*



MOUNTED MAN'S FIREPOWER

The Smith Carbine is light and easy to handle at 39 inches long and 7½ pounds. The wooden forestock helped mounted men maintain a grip on the gun after the barrel had heated up from firing. Early models of the Smith used a traditional sling like those found on shoulder arms, but that proved impractical. Most Smiths, therefore, were made with a ring to attach to the standard-issue cavalry carbine sling.

PHOTO COURTESY OF AL NIEMIEC; HERITAGE AUCTIONS,DALLAS; DANA B. SHOAF COLLECTION/ PHOTO BY MELISSA A. WINN; HERITAGE AUCTIONS, DALLAS

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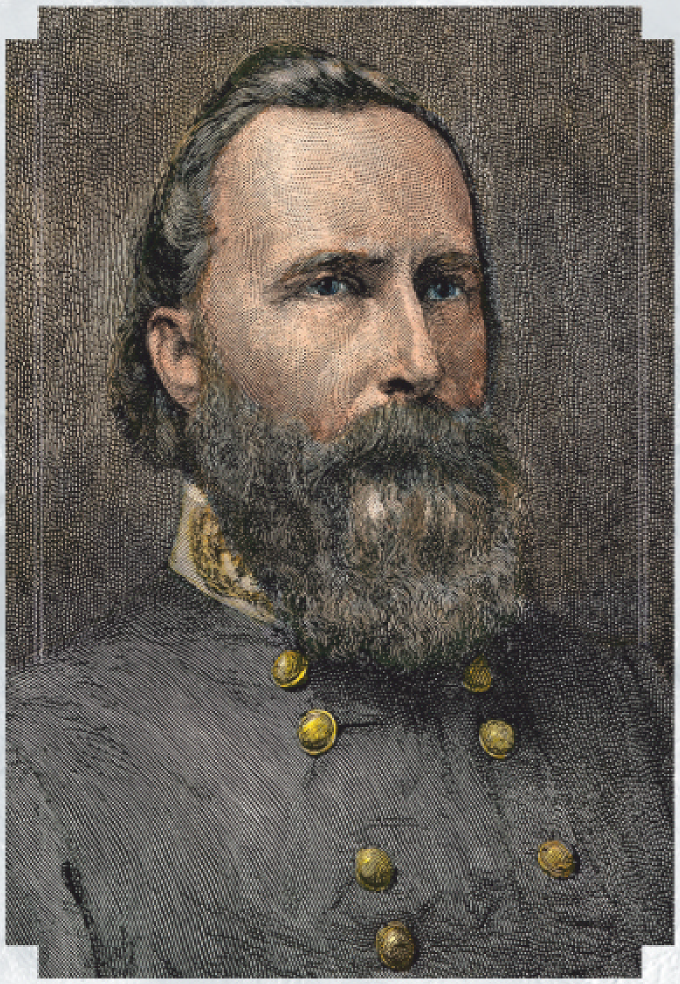
LONGSTREET THE MODERN WARRIOR?

REVIEWED BY GORDON BERG



Historians have long debated whether the Civil War was history's last Napoleonic-style conflict or a prototype of how war would be fought in the 20th century. Major General William T. Sherman has often been characterized as the U.S. Army's first practitioner of modern warfare. Now Harold Knudsen makes a case for Lt. Gen. James Longstreet as his Confederate counterpart. As a 25-year army veteran well-versed in modern warfare planning and tactical operations, Knudsen makes an articulate and persuasive case.

Knudsen's book is not a biography of Longstreet nor an analysis of his postwar political transformation that made him a whipping boy for Lost Cause ideologues. Rather, his purpose is "an examination of Longstreet from the vantage point of modern methods that set him apart from his contemporaries." Knudsen concludes that Old Pete "made such adjustments to the known tactics, techniques, and procedures of his day and proved that his adjustments were decisive modernizations in nineteenth century warfare."

Longstreet began to practice modern tactical warfare, Knudsen maintains, early in the Peninsula Campaign. At the Battle of Williamsburg on May 5, 1862, Knudsen credits Longstreet as being "responsible for fixing the enemy, seeing to the safe passage of the army's trains, and maintaining situational awareness of the larger picture." He also had misgivings about Lee's strategy at Malvern Hill, an attack on a strong Union defensive position that cost the Confederacy more than 5,000 casualties.

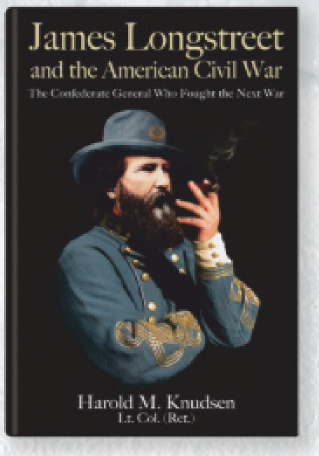
During the Antietam Campaign, Longstreet "advocated a concentration of Confederate forces to lure the Union army into a large battle on ground of Lee's choosing and avoid smaller engagements that carried no chance of significant results." Nevertheless, Lee, a bold albeit traditional tactician and strategist, opted to contest the South Mountain gaps. Later, at the Sunken Road, Longstreet learned that "the prepared tactical defense was dominant over the direct tactical offense;" a lesson he would advantageously employ at the Battle of Fredericksburg.

Knudsen is critical of Lee's decision for a second invasion of the North, concluding, "Failure to set a campaign objective sealed Lee's defeat in Pennsylvania." His incisive, non-ideological analysis of the campaign culminating in the Battle of Gettysburg starkly contrasts the ways Lee and Longstreet viewed tactical and strategic military operations. Knudsen closely examines each day's events and concludes "Lee tried to force a win in a situation that probably would not have occurred at all if he had declared an attainable and politically profitable objective before the campaign began."

Knudsen follows Longstreet west where he led the Confederate breakthrough at the Battle of Chickamauga while butting heads over tactics with General Braxton Bragg. There, Knudsen maintains "with minimal planning time, Longstreet had orchestrated a masterstroke on a scale like none yet executed in the war" while showing himself "as much a master of the offense as the defense."

Critics of Knudsen's analysis of Longstreet's military acumen can point to the author's lack of analysis of the general's leadership when in overall command of operations that failed to capture the Union garrison at Suffolk, Va., between April 11-May 4, 1863; the author's attributing Longstreet's defeat at Knoxville in November 1863 to poor performance by subordinates; and giving short shrift to his role as Lee's most reliable corps commander during the 1864 Overland Campaign, the siege of Petersburg, and the final days of the Army of Northern Virginia prior to its surrender at Appomattox Courthouse.

Knudsen's monograph will surely revive the Lee vs. Longstreet debate among amateur strategists, professional historians, and Lost Cause die-hards. In conclusion, Knudsen opines that "On the corps level he was the only one of the Confederate side who innovated on a large scale—and therefore Longstreet deserves recognition as the Confederacy's most modern general." Readers are given ample information to decide for themselves.


James Longstreet
and the American Civil War
The Confederate General Who Fought the Next War
Harold M. Knudsen
Lt. Col. (Ret.)

James Longstreet and the American Civil War: The Confederate General Who Fought the Next War

By Harold M. Knudsen

Savas Beatie, 2022, $32.95

NORTH WIND PICTURE ARCHIVES/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

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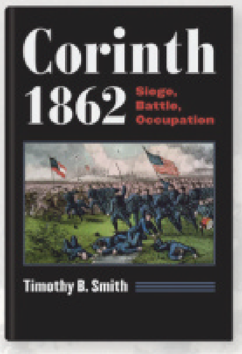
LESLEY J. GORDON
HISTORY PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA; BIG BAMA FAN; *CWT* ADVISORY BOARD MEMBER

WHAT ARE YOU READING?

I'm currently reading Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation*. It is a valuable secondary source for me as I draft the final chapter of my current book manuscript which examines the military service of two regiments—the 11th New York Volunteer Infantry (Fire Zouaves) and the 2nd Texas Infantry. The colonel of the 2nd Texas, William P. Rogers, famously died while leading a desperate charge on October 4, 1862, against Federal fortifications at Corinth. His dead body, along with several others, was photographed and widely circulated in the Northern press—one of the few battlefield images we have from the Western Theater, and a particularly grisly one. Smith's book, like all of his battle histories, is densely detailed and well researched and he seeks to place the town's military significance into broader context. As Smith notes, Corinth and its soldiers, civilians, and enslaved people deserved more attention.*



Corinth 1862: Siege, Battle, Occupation
By Timothy B. Smith
University Press of Kansas, 2012, $27.95

LOOKING WESTWARD

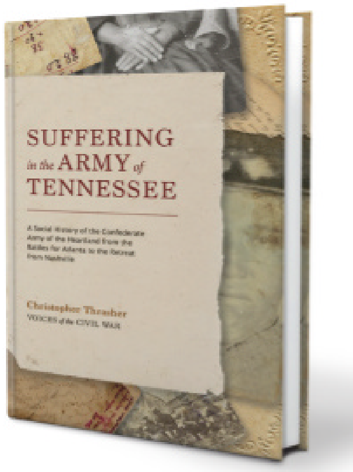
REVIEWED BY RICHARD H. HOLLOWAY

Christopher Thrasher's *Suffering in the Army of Tennessee: A Social History of the Confederate Army of the Heartland From the Battles for Atlanta to the Retreat From Nashville* lets you embark on a fresh path using both familiar and new sources.

The area covered by this volume provides a detailed perspective of the army during a very controversial period. While it does cover the generals and their grand plan to invade Tennessee, it is the privates and non-commissioned officers who steal the attention. The book also covers the underlying tensions between Confederate leaders, reflected in these comments about the Forrest–Wheeler feud. "William Sloan of the 5th Tennessee Cavalry saw the raids with Forrest as a grand adventure, where men abandoned Wheeler's cavalry command and joined Forrest 'for the sake of a daring exploit' and where 'most of the boys are drunk' from captured brandy."

The reminiscences and letters used also elicit details that make the action more human. At the Battle of Franklin, Tenn., one soldier in the 6th/7th Arkansas Infantry recalled receiving a serious leg wound upon the initial advance on the Federal center. Strict orders and inherent danger forced his comrades in arms to leave him to fend for himself amid the hail of lead directed his way. Cannons captured from trained artillerymen during the retreat from Nashville caused them to be assigned to the defenses of Mobile, Ala., further weakening the army as an effective force.

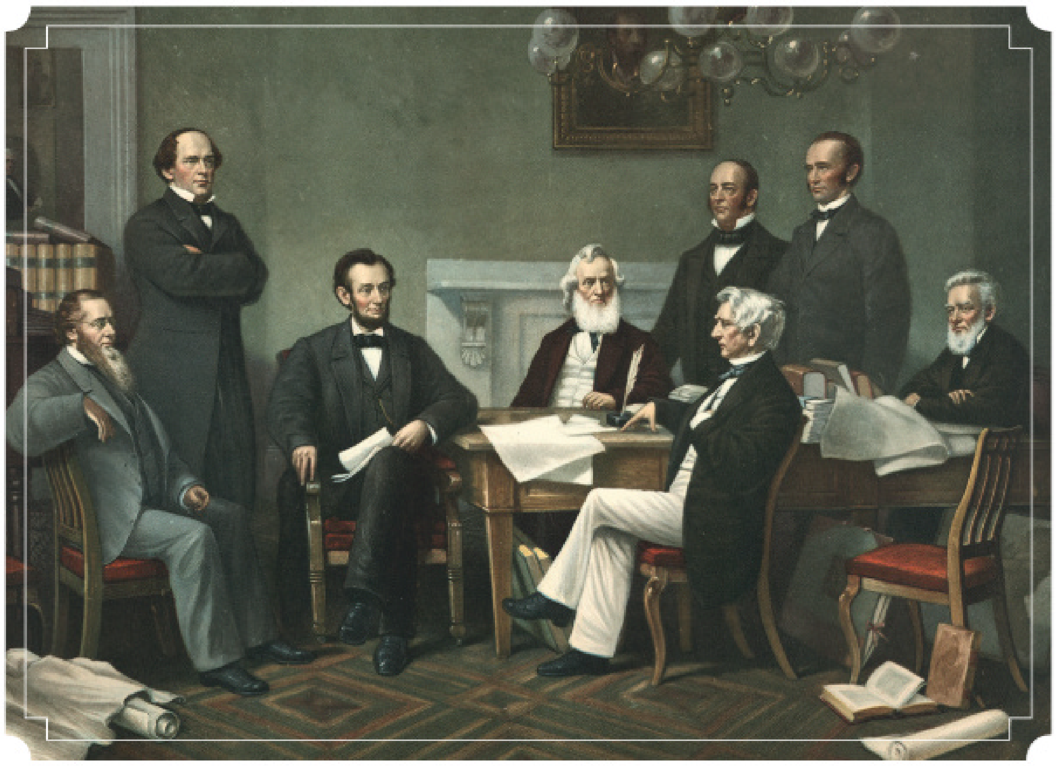
Another area usually not covered with any amount of scrutiny are what the man in the ranks was equipped with. The appendix in this volume covers all aspects of the inspection reports for the Army of Tennessee, from personal accoutrements to company cooking equipment. Even the deficiency in proper underclothing and shirts was included in this detailed study.



Suffering in the Confederate Army of Tennessee: A Social History of the Confederate Army of the Heartland From the Battles for Atlanta to the Retreat From Nashville
By Christopher Thrasher
University of Tennessee Press, 2021, $39.95

This is a look at the common soldier combined with the insights of leaders, both private and public. It allows the reader to understand the overall picture of the deadly campaign from the mountains of northern Georgia, through the streets of Atlanta, to the frozen hills around Nashville with a set of fresh eyes. Get a copy, sit down, and enjoy this book from cover to cover. You will not want to put it down.

FOOTNOTE **While the Army of Northern Virginia developed a sense of identity based on General Robert E. Lee, the Army of Tennessee was not favored with such a charismatic leader. Therefore the Confederacy's Western Theater units found allegiance and identity by coalescing around lower ranking officers such as Patrick Cleburne.**



LEGAL TENDER
Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase stands second from left, over the shoulder of his boss. Chase changed his views during the war on how the nation should handle its finances. His acceptance of paper currency, for example, changed American fiscal policy.

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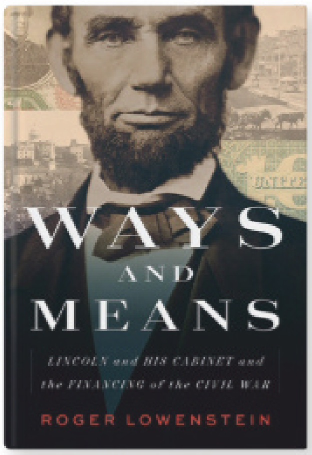
WAR DEBT

REVIEWED BY RICK BEARD

While the Civil War's human cost has been rigorously charted over the years, its financial implications have received far less attention. In his new book, *Ways and Means*, Roger Lowenstein remedies this oversight with an engaging, detailed account that, of necessity, focuses largely on the machinations of Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's first Treasury secretary.



Ways and Means: Lincoln and His Cabinet and the Financing of the Civil War

By Roger Lowenstein

Penguin Press, 2022, $30

Chase was an unlikely choice for the post; his Democratic principles—a suspicion of high finance and paper money, distrust of banks, and disdain for the tariff—were at odds with Lincoln's Whiggish approach to the national economy. That Chase would come to embrace paper currency and a system of national banks by his resignation in 1864 was a testament to the extraordinary financial demands of the war.

The Lincoln administration inherited a national debt of $65 million from James Buchanan, equivalent to $2.3 billion today. By the end of 1861, the Union Army's expenses were $1.5 million per day ($1.6 billion a month today). The country's only method of taxation—the tariff—cratered as a revenue source with the imposition of the Union naval blockade.

The available financial alternatives were to tax, to borrow, or to print money, all of which Chase would eventually embrace. Working with Jay Cooke, a Philadelphia-based financier, Chase initially sought to borrow $150 million in gold from New York banks, which sought instead to lend their own paper bank notes rather than specie.

By the winter of 1861-62, the financial situation was in crisis, as war costs approached $2 million a day. Congress approved paper currency as legal tender, as well as $500 million in bonds. The issuance of legal tender signified an immediate improvement, but the slow sale of bonds led Chase to give Cooke the exclusive right to market them. By June 1863, he had sold $175 million of bonds in a 12-month period.

Simultaneously, Chase worked to create a system of national banks and implemented the nation's first income tax. By January 1864, with the costing $2.5 million a day, Cooke had sold $515 million of bonds and earned fees worth $435,000. That same month Congress launched an investigation of Cooke's activities, which had included a poorly disguised effort to bribe Chase with a $4,000 payment from the sale of stock he did not own.

The investigation came to nothing, and by June 1864, Chase's relationship with Lincoln had soured. The president accepted his Treasury secretary's thrice-proffered resignation and dragooned reluctant Maine Senator William Pitt Fessenden into accepting the post. Over the next nine months he continued the policies of his predecessor.

By 1865, the war had cost the Union $3.05 billion and the federal deficit was 30 times greater than four years earlier. The author devotes far less space to the Confederacy's crippling financial travails, attributing them to "the lack of central coordination…and the absence of a culture fostering economic mobility."

Salmon Chase is the protagonist of Lowenstein's story, and he leaves the reader with a deep understanding of the war's expenses, how they were financed, and the manner in which they reshaped and expanded the role of the federal government in American life.

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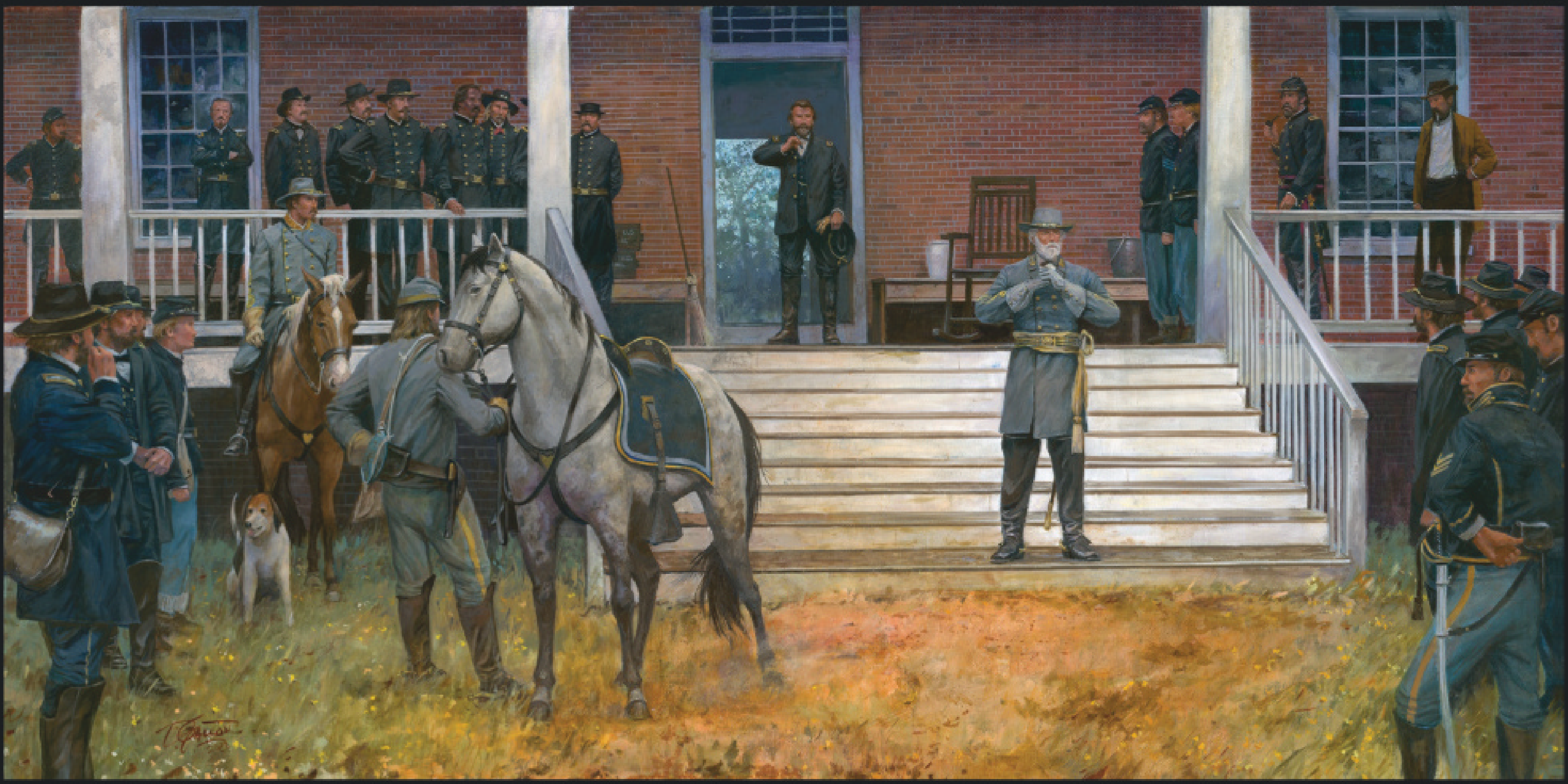

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STILL THE GUNS
BY DALE GALLON

Appomattox Court House, Virginia, April 9, 1865. Grant & his staff watch Lee's departure from the McLean House following the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.

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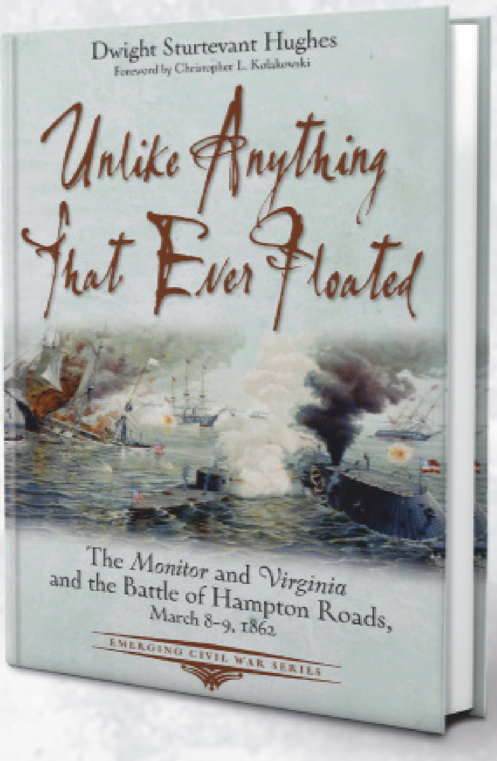
IRON INNOVATIVE

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM JOHN SHEPHERD



Unlike Anything That Ever Floated: The *Monitor* and *Virginia* and the Battle of Hampton Roads, March 8-9, 1862

By Dwight Sturtevant Hughes

Savas Beatie, 2021. $14.95

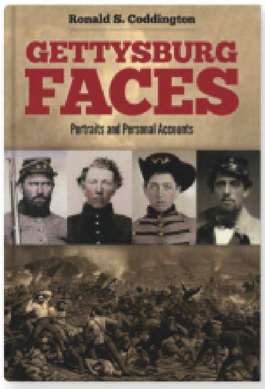
This addition to the innovative *Emerging Civil War* series, edited by Chris Mackowski, is authored by a U.S. Naval Academy graduate, Vietnam War veteran, and Civil War naval historian. There are over a hundred contemporary prints and photographs, augmented by 20 brilliant diagrams of naval equipment created by J.M. Caiella and 11 impressive maps from Edward Alexander II. While there is no index or endnotes, there are suggested readings and several appendices cover the order of battle, later history of ironclad warships, battle site touring, and a review of the USS Monitor Center at the Mariners' Museum and Park in Newport News with its recovered *Monitor* artifacts, the world's largest marine archaeological metals conservation project.

The midst of the 19th century was a transitional age where traditional wind-powered wooden ships began to give way to steam-powered ironclad ships. The French and British led the way with launching, respectively, in 1859 and 1860, the *Gloire* and *Warrior*. However, the naval clash between USS *Monitor* and CSS *Virginia* (the former USS *Merrimack*) at Hampton Roads, Va., at the mouth of the James River, on March 9, 1862, inaugurated the age of ironclad warships. This set the tone for naval architecture for the next half-century, including the need for heavy shot to penetrate armor, gun turrets for all-around firing, breechloading guns, iron rams, and eventually steel replacing iron.

With a compelling narrative enhanced by the aforementioned maps and engineering diagrams, Hughes related the development, combat, and fate of each iconic warship. Originally a wooden frigate, *Merrimack* was captured and repurposed as *Virginia*. The reconstituted ironclad was 263 feet long with a 51-foot beam and 22-foot draft. It had 4 inches of iron plate and 14 gun ports with a mix of 9-inch Dahlgren smoothbores and 6.4-7 inch rifled Brooke cannons, plus a 1,500 pound iron ram. The crew, 320 strong, were led by Flag Officer and later Admiral Franklin Buchanan, a Maryland native who would clash with David Farragut at Mobile Bay two years later. The rival *Monitor*, ingeniously constructed by Swedish inventor John Ericsson, was 173 feet long with a 41.5-foot beam and 10.5-foot draft. It had a 9-foot turret fitted with two 11-inch Dahlgren smoothbore cannons. A crew of 65 that included German immigrants and free Blacks was commanded by John L Worder.

After sinking two major Union wooden warships and threatening another that had run aground on the first day, *Virginia* was confronted the second day by *Monitor*. The two ships blasted each other but inflicted little damaged. The fight was effectively a stalemate that was ultimately considered a Union victory when both ships withdrew. On May 11, 1862, Union forces took Portsmouth, Va. Unable to escape, *Virginia* was destroyed by its crew. *Monitor* was lost on New Year's Eve off Cape Hatteras in a storm. Neither ship had survived 1862, but both left a lasting legacy, inspiring warship design well into the 20th century.

GETTYSBURG AT THE GROUND LEVEL



Gettysburg Faces: Portraits and Personal Accounts

By Ronald S. Coddington

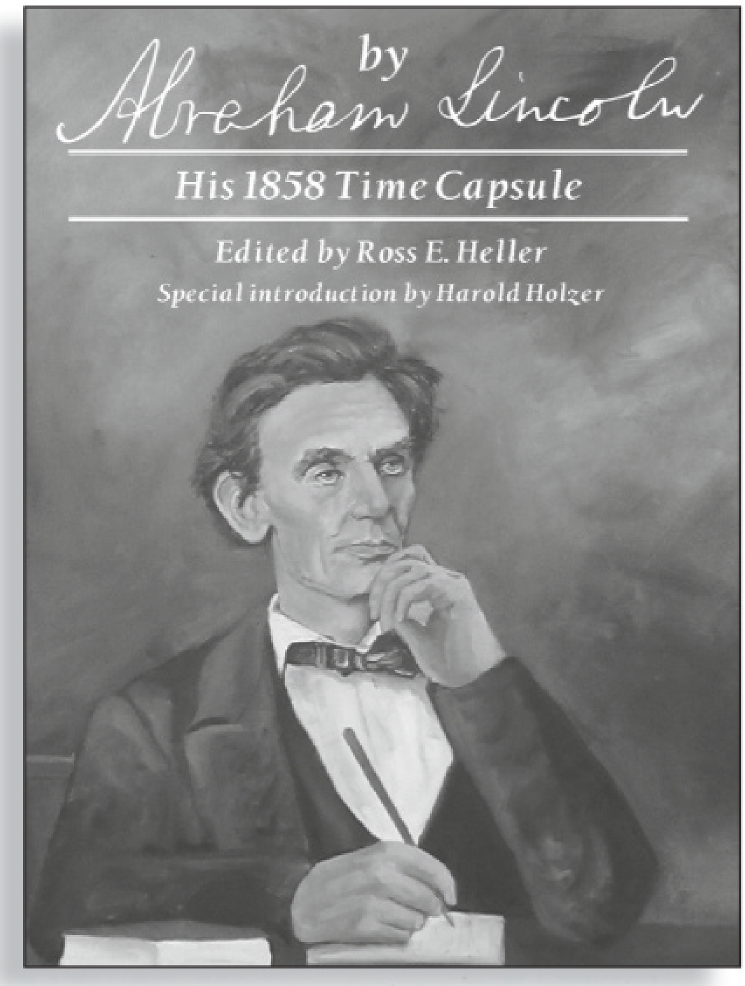
Gettysburg Publishing, 2022, $29.95

REVIEWED BY DANA B. SHOAF

Disclaimer here, I like Civil War photographs and collect them, and I also am friends with some of the collectors whose images are featured in this book. I also go to Gettysburg more than I want to admit. So, yes, I like this book. After a brief introduction about the Battle of Gettysburg and the origins of image collecting, Ron Coddington has written 100 accounts of Northern and Southern soldiers and women and their experiences during the three-day fight, organized into chapters by each day of the fight. Each entry is accompanied by a large, clear image of the featured person.

All the photos provoke interest, and some are quite striking. Many of those pictured impress you with their gaze. Some were casualties of the battle, and those who survived were forever changed by the ordeal.

You can open this book to any page and be immersed in a dramatic story. There were hundreds of thousands of Civil Wars—each participant had his own view of the event, and this book bears that out. *Gettysburg Faces* would make a great holiday gift.



Lincoln History
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EDITOR'S LIBRARY

Beloved Reference Books

I still prefer to crack a book open than to click a mouse when it comes to research. Over the years, I've been fortunate to build up a small reference library that I constantly use when working on the magazine.

I've been looking for a set of the three-volume New York Monuments Commission's *Final Report of the Battlefield of Gettysburg*, and I finally found an affordable one in decent shape. The series was published in 1900 by J.B. Lyon Company of Albany, N.Y. The state of New York contributed more soldiers to the fight than any other in the Union, and therefore has the most monuments on the field, 87.

Volume One kicks off the series with a history of the battle, including data tables on daily itineraries, regimental rosters, casualties throughout the campaign, and a chapter on the 1893 "New York Day" when the state monument was dedicated in the National Cemetery.

The heart of the series, and its main value, are the chapters, organized chronologically by unit number, that contain photos of each unit's monument, the inscriptions found on the monuments, and transcriptions of the monument dedication speeches. All should be viewed with some skepticism, as an old soldier's memories could be cloudy. But they still provide detail and a sense of how the aging vets viewed their service.

My set was once the property of Willard Devendorf of the 1st New York Light Artillery, as he wrote his name and unit inside the front cover of Volume Two. That made me curious about the New Yorker's Gettysburg participation. To my surprise, I learned that, even though his 5th Corps battery was posted on the northern extension of Little Round Top on July 2, it didn't fire a shot. Devendorf and his comrades never had a clear field of fire due to terrain, and friendly troops were almost always in their front. On July 3, they were sent farther south, and didn't get a crack at Pickett's Charge. I think they were the only 5th Corps battery that was not engaged.

That story is just one example of how research books lead to further research and more knowledge. *—D.B.S.*

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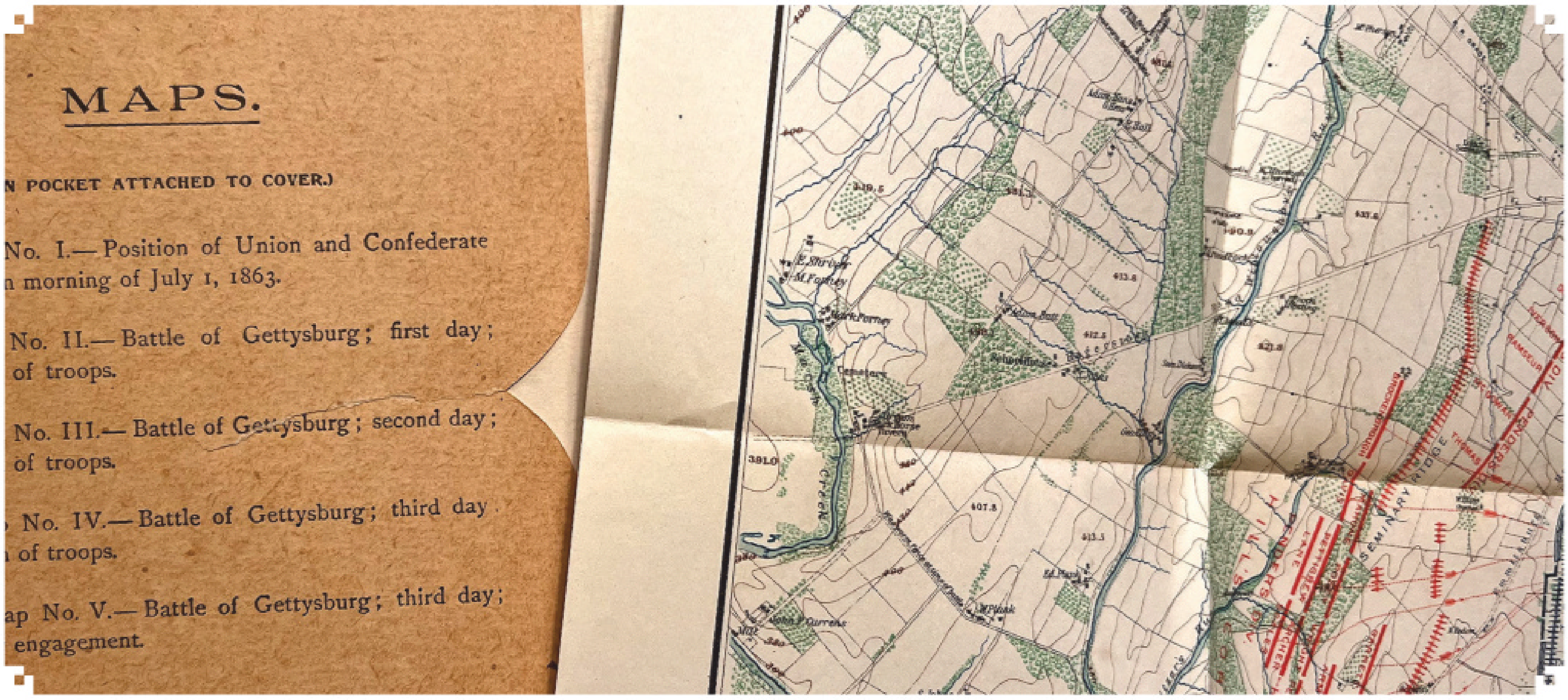
TRIUMVIRATE
The three-volume series is officially titled *The New York Monuments Commission for the Battlefields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga. Final Report of the Battlefield of Gettysburg.* With glossy photographs and five detailed maps of the battlefield, it is obvious the Empire State spent some coin on the set.



MAPS.

N POCKET ATTACHED TO COVER.)

No. I.—Position of Union and Confederate
n morning of July 1, 1863.

No. II.—Battle of Gettysburg; first day;
of troops.

No. III.—Battle of Gettysburg; second day;
of troops.

No. IV.—Battle of Gettysburg; third day
of troops.

ap No. V.—Battle of Gettysburg; third day;
engagement.

DANA B. SHOAF COLLECTION/PHOTOS BY MELISSA A. WINN (2)

CIVIL WAR TIMES

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (required by Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code). 1. Civil War Times 2. (ISSN: 1546-9980) 3. Filing date: 10/1/22. 4. Issue frequency: Quarterly. 5. Number of issues published annually: 4. 6. The annual subscription price is $39.95. 7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: HistoryNet, 901 N Glebe Rd, 5th Floor, Arlington, VA 22203. 8. Complete mailing address of headquarters or general business office of publisher: HistoryNet, 901 N Glebe Rd, 5th Floor, Arlington, VA 22203. 9. Full names and complete mailing addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor. Publisher, Michael A. Reinstein, HistoryNet, 901 N Glebe Rd, 5th Floor, Arlington, VA 22203, Editor, Dana B Shoaf, HistoryNet, 901 N Glebe Rd, 5th Floor, Arlington, VA 22203, Editor in Chief, Dana Shoaf, HistoryNet, 901 N Glebe Rd, 5th Floor, Arlington, VA 22203. 10. 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Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 15,190. Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 13,828. H. Total (sum of 15f and 15g). Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 40,417. Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing: 38,127. I. Percent paid. Average percent of copies paid for the preceding 12 months: 97.1% Actual percent of copies paid for the preceding 12 months: 98.0% 16. Electronic Copy Circulation: A. Paid Electronic Copies. Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 0. Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 0. B. Total Paid Print Copies (Line 15c) + Paid Electronic Copies (Line 16a). Average number of copies each issue during preceding 12 months: 24,507. Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: 23,814. C. Total Print Distribution (Line 15f) + Paid Electronic Copies (Line 16a). 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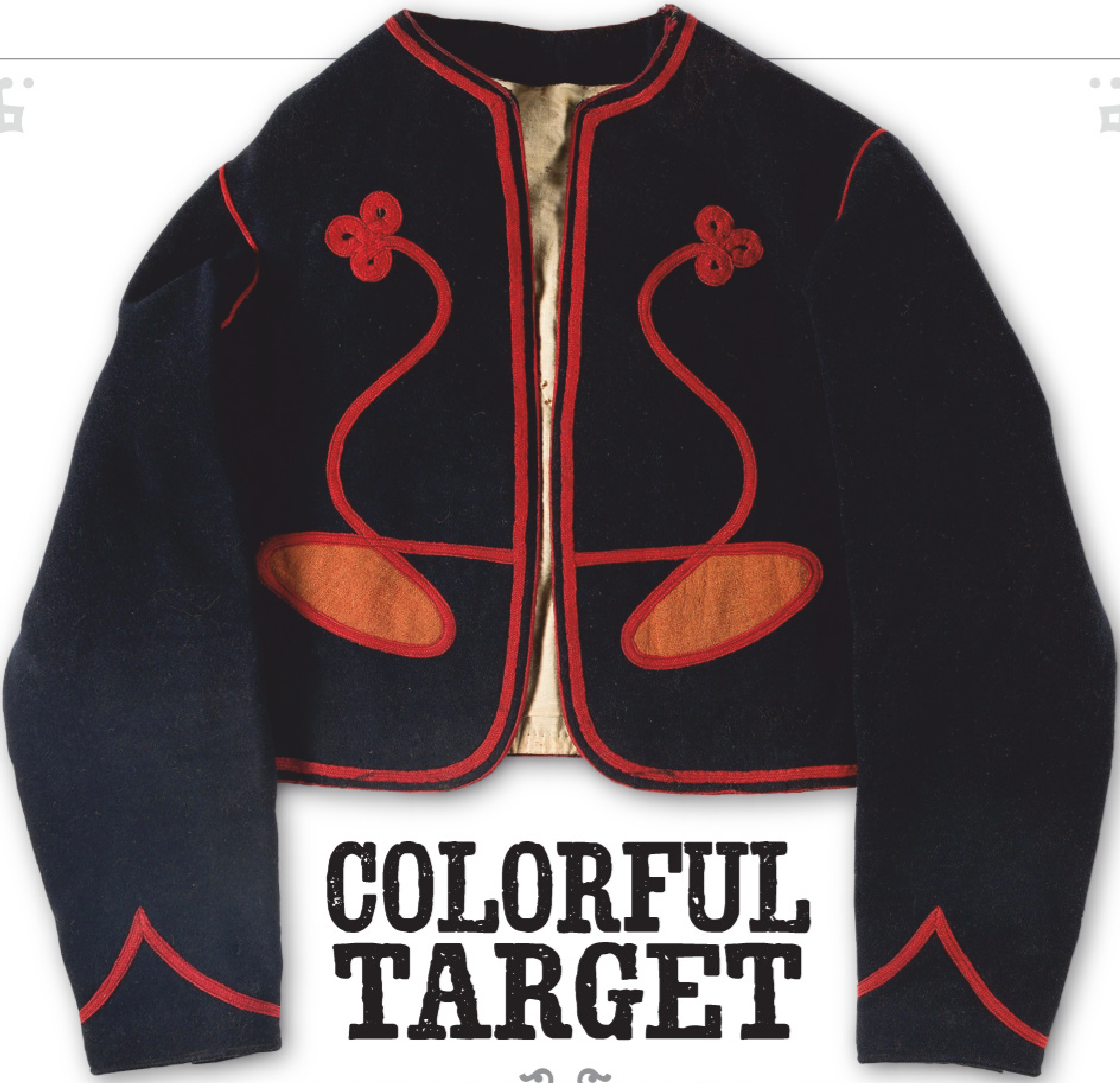

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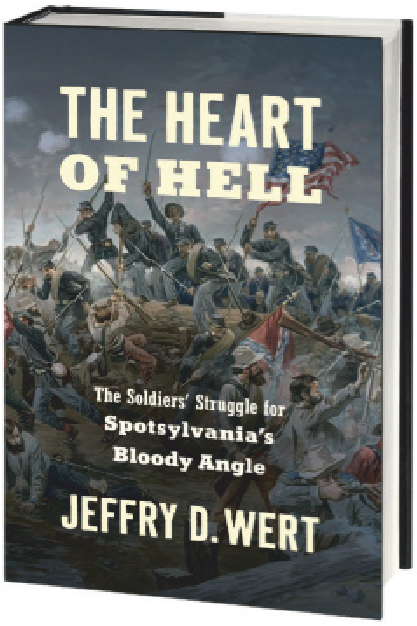
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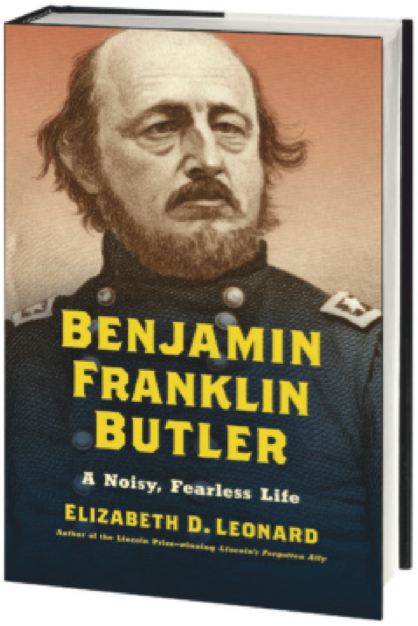
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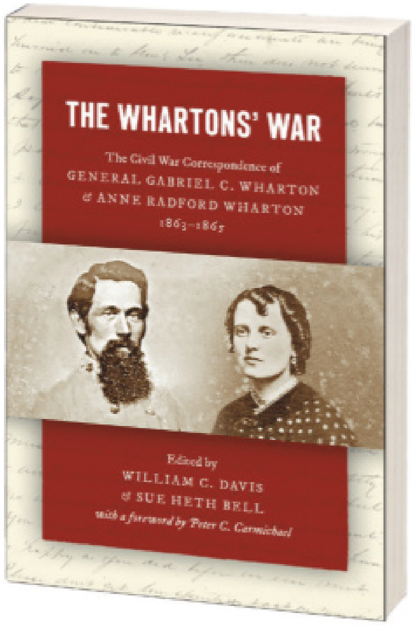
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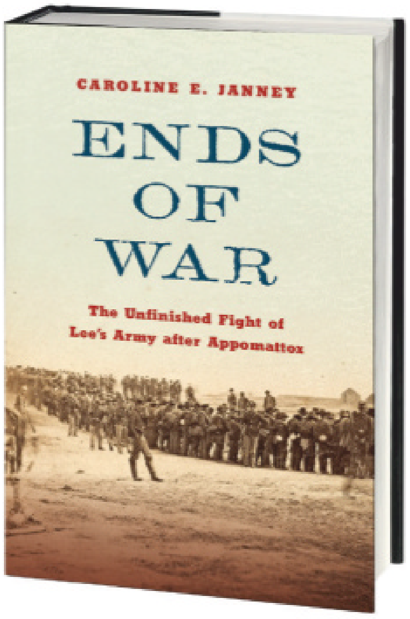
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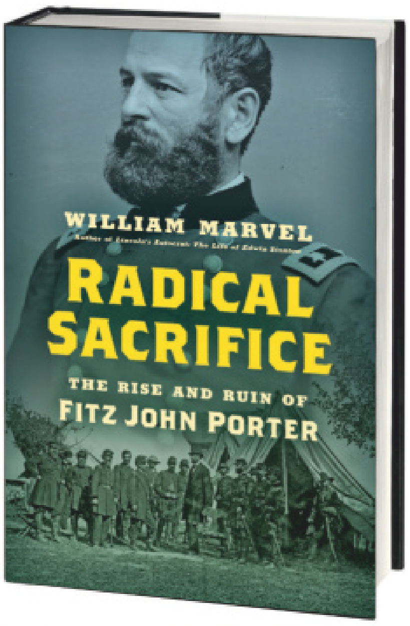
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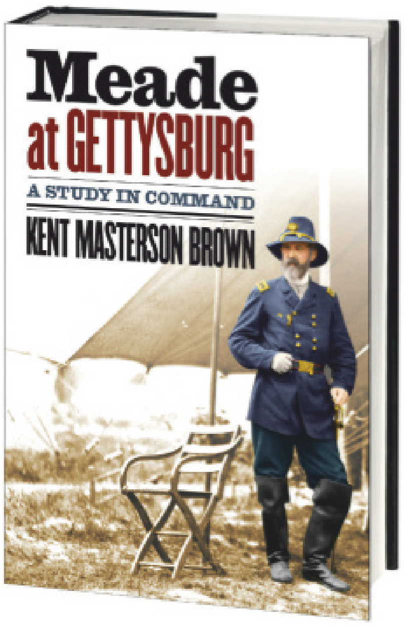
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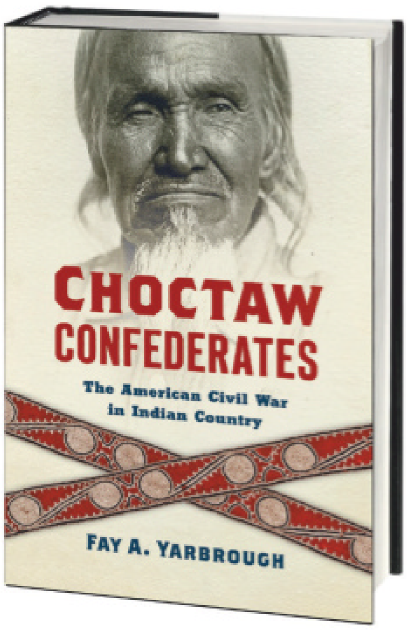
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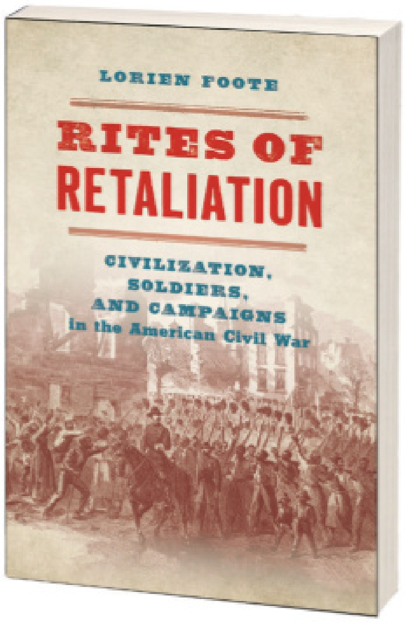
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